V. V. BARTHOLD

FOUR STUDIES ON THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

BY

V. AND T. MINORSKY

VOLUME II

ULUGH-BEG

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
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FOREWORD

The avowed purpose of Barthold's monograph on Ulugh-beg [1] was to represent Tamerlane's grandson not as a detached king-astronomer, but as a son of his time with the background of his family relations, political strife and military expeditions. The death of Ulugh-beg by the order of his son marks the end of a period in the history of the Timurids, on the eve of the interminable series of divisions and struggles among the later princes hard pressed by the Qara-quyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu Turcomans from the West and by the Uzbeks from the East.

While Barthold turned his attention to historical realities, an interesting attempt has been made by a countryman of Ulugh-beg's Professor T. N. Karī-Niyazov (Member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences), to revive and complete the picture of Ulugh-beg's achievements as a promoter of science and especially of astronomy. The Uzbek mathematician's book on Ulugh-beg's astronomical school [2] contains a full description of the remains of Ulugh-beg's observatory, of the tables known by his name and the biographies of his scientific collaborators. From this book we reproduce, with proper acknowledgment, four photographs: that of the idealised image of Ulugh-beg on the monument erected to his memory in Samarqand, representing him as a meditative star-gazer (*frontispiece*); that of the Gūr-i Mīr, the mausoleum of the Timurids (p. 124); that of Ulugh-beg's quadrant, as unearthed in 1908 amid the ruins of Ulugh-beg's observatory (p. 132); that of the skull of Ulugh-beg, as retrieved in 1941 (p. 180) [3]; that of his likeness, as reconstructed from his remains by the sculptor M. M. Gerasimov (p. 180).

[1] V. V. Barthold, *Ulughbek i yego vremya, Mémoires de l'Académe des Sciences de Russie,* VIII-e série, vol. XIII, No. 5, Pétrograd 1918

[2] Published in Russian under the title *Astronomicheskaya shkola Ulugh-beka,* Moscow 1950, 330 pp.

[3] On 17 June 1941 Ulugh-beg's tomb in Samarqand was opened by a committee of specialists and his head, severed by the executioner's sword, was found beside his body.

Barthold (see below p. 14) considered as spurious the official pedigree of Ulugh-beg's grandfather Tamerlane, which gives him an ancestor (Tumenay) in common with Chingiz-khan. A Turkish scholar [1] by patiently re-examining Mongol genealogies has recently sought to reaffirm Timur's claim to nobility [2]. The fact remains that Timur himself did not aspire to any higher distinction than the appellation *küräkän* (in Persian read *gūrgān*), i.e. "son-in-law" (cf. Chinese *fu-ma*), which points to his matrimonial link with the family of akhan. The transformation of the *Mongol* tribe of Barulas into the *Turkic* clan of Barlas, to which Timur belonged, needs also further elucidation.

[1] Prof. A. Z. V. Togan in his article contributed to the Presentation volume to Prof. M. Shafi, Lahore 1955, pp. 105-114.

[2] As claimed by the inscription on the stone erected over Timur's tomb by Ulugh-beg. In it the genealogy goes up to the fabulous Alan-goa, who conceived from a sunbeam (Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezine, VII, 173), and it adds that the sunbeam was "a descendant of 'Ali ibn Abī-Tālib"!

V. MINORSKY

INTRODUCTION

In an article written after the discovery of the ruins of Ulugh-beg's observatory attention was drawn to the extreme paucity of our "information on Ulugh-beg's personality and his part in the work of the Samarqand observatory" [1]. Ulugh-beg's personality and reign have never yet been the subject of a monograph by a European student of Oriental history. Astronomers who wrote about Ulugh-beg were naturally far more interested in him as the author of astronomical tables, than as a ruler and historical personage. The astronomers' pen turned Timur's grandson, — an ambitious ruler who, according to a Persian annalist, united in his person "the learning of Plato with the magnificence of Faridun" [2], — into a scholarly idealist who from the first years of his reign abandoned politics and devoted all his time to mathematics and astronomy [3]. The madrasa which he founded became by virtue of a free translation by one of the earlier Orientalists, a "school organised on the lines of the Museon of Alexandria" [4]. Few persons know that for Ulugh-beg's epoch the student has at his disposal several independent chronicles, a fact which lessens the scope for guesses and hypotheses far more than the astronomers who wrote on Ulugh-beg had believed.

It is true that our information on Ulugh-beg is much scantier than that on his father and grandfather. We have no historical works written at Ulugh-beg's court, nor any accounts by travellers who had seen Ulugh-beg, his court and his capital. The

[1] V Milovanov, in *PTKLA,* XVIII, 52

[2] Mirkhond, L, p. 1290.

[3] Sédillot, *Prolégomènes,* Introd, p. CXXV: "entraîné par l'amour de l'étude, il abandonna promptement le terrain de la politique pour se livrer tout entier à sa passion pour les mathématiques et l'astronomie". A contemporary Russian scholar is still more categorical: Ulugh-beg was "an idealist scholar who had entirely consecrated himself to science, a man not of this world" (I. I. Sikora in *ITOIRGO,* IX, 1913, p. 82)

[4] Humboldt, *Kosmos,* II, 161; in Th. Hyde's translation "a gymnasium"; cf. Sédillot, Introd., pp. CXXVI and CXXVIII.

reports of men who lived in Mawarānnahr in Ulugh-beg's time have come to us only at second-hand. The sources are completely silent on his outward appearance, whereas we have sufficiently full descriptions of the appearance of Timur [1] and even of Chingiz-khan [2]. Portraits of Ulugh-beg will probably come to light in illustrated MSS., but up till now the problem has not been investigated and it is even doubtful whether a good likeness can be expected from such illustrations [3]. We shall see, however, that Timur's activities, on which we possess very detailed information, largely predetermined the subsequent destinies of his empire. In the events of his reign we can find a key to many of Ulugh-beg's actions, successes and failures. An outline of the life and rule of Ulug-beg must therefore begin with a brief description of the legacy which he received from his grandfather.

[1] Clavijo, 249; IAr., p. 216.
[2] Jūzjānī and Meng-Hung, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, GMS, 457.
[3] [See below p. VII]

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

'Ālam-ārā — Iskandar-munshı, 'Ālam-ārā, Tehran 1314.

An. Isk — Anonymous history of Iskandar. MS Asiatic Museum 566bc; MS. British Mus. Or. 1566 (Rieu, p. 1062). Cf. IAN 1915, p. 1365, DAN 1927, 115-6; IAN 1929, 165-80.

An Sh — Anonymous history of Shāhrukh. MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 159 (Rıeu, p. 1365). See *Dnevnik,* I, p. XXXIII, and XVO, XXIII, 20. Identıfied by H. R. Roemer as Shams al-Ḥusn, *Tāj-i Salmānī,* Wiesbaden 1956.

AR —'Abd-al-Razzāq, *Matla' al-sa'dayn,* MS. University of Petrograd, No 157. See the new edition by M. Shafi, Lahore 1941, 1949.

Babur — *Bābur-nāma,* ed. A. Beverıdge, GMS, 1905.

Barthold, *Irrigation* — Barthold, *K istorıı orosheniya Turkestana,* St. Petersburg 1914.

Barthold, *Report* — Barthold, *Otchet o poyezdke* (Report on a mission to Central Asia ın 1893-4). *Zap. Akad. Nauk,* SPb. 1897.

Barthold, *Semirechye* — Barthold, *Ocherk istorii Semirechya,* 1898. See translated ın part I of the present edition.

Blochet — Blochet, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols,* 1900.

Clavıjo — Clavıjo, *La vida y hazañas del gran Tamorlan,* ed. Sreznevsky, St Petersburg 1881.

DAN — Dokladı Akademii Nauk.

Daulatshah — Daulatshah, *The Tadhkirat al-shu'arā,* ed. E. G. Browne, 1901.

Dnevnik — Ghiyāth ad-dīn Alī, *Dnevnik pokhoda Timura v Indiyu,* ed. L. Zımin, SPb 1915 (*Teksty po ıstorii Sredney Azii,* I), SPb. 1915.

E.I — Encyclopedıa of Islam, first edition.

Faṣīh, *Mujmal-i Faṣīhī,* MS. Musée Asiatique 581.

H. Abru, *Shahr.* — Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *A history of Shahrukh,* MS. India Office, Ethé, p. 76, No. 171.

H. Abru, Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavarīkh,* MS. Zub, Bodleian, Elliot 422.

IAN — Izvestiya Akad. Nauk (Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences).

IAr. — Ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Ajā'ib al-maqdūr,* Cairo 1285.

I. Bat. — Ibn Baṭṭuṭa, *Voyages,* ed. Defrémery.

ITOIRGO — Izvestiya of the Turkestan branch of the Imp. Russian Geogr. Society

HS — Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar,* Tehran 1271; for part III/3 see Indian edition 1847.

Lerch — P. Lerch, *Archeological journey to Turkestan* (in Russian), St. Petersburg 1860.

Mirkhond — Mīrkhond, *Rauḍat al-Safā*, Lucknow 1883.

Musavi, *Khayrāt* — Musavī, *Tārīkh-i khayrāt*, MS Br. Mus. Or 4898 (Rieu Suppl., p. 270, No. 423); *Aṣaḥḥ al-tavārīkh*, MS. Bodleian, Elliot 2 (Sachau-Ethé, No. 32)-the different titles belong to the copies of the same work, see IAN, 1915, p. 1365.

Nizam al-din — Nizām al-din, *Ẓafar-nāma*, MS. Br. Mus. Add. 23980, Rieu, p. 170 published by F. Tauer, Prague, I (1937); II (1956): notes.

Ostroumov — Ostroumov, 'Madrasas in Turkestan', *Journ. Minst. Prosveshcheniya*, 1907, January.

PTKLA — Proceedings of the Turkestan circle of archeology.

Rashahāt — 'Alī b. Ḥusayn-Vā'iz, *Rashaḥāt 'ayn-il-hayāt*, Tashkent 1329.

Rosen, *Muz.* — *al-Muẓaffariya*, offered to Baron V. Rosen, St. Petersburg 1897.

Samariya — Abū-Ṭāhir, *Samariya*, ed. N. Veselovsky, 1904.

Sédillot — Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des tables astronomiques d'Oloug-beg*, Paris 1847-53.

Suter — Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomer der Araber*, Leipzig 1908.

TR — Muhammad Ḥaydar, *The Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. by E. D. Ross, 1895.

Turkestan — Barthold, Turkestan, English edition, GMS, 1928.

Turkestan, texts — Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russian ed., I, 1898.

Vasifi — Vāsifī, *Badā'i' al-viqāyi'*, MS. Asiat. Museum 568a. See *Mélanges As.*, VI, 400 Cf. A. N Boldirev, *Zaynaddīn Vāsifī*, Stalinabad 1957.

Vyatkin — V. L. Vyatkin, *Year book of Samarqand province.*

Vyatkin, *Materials* — V. L. Vyatkin, *Materiali po istor geografii Samark vilayeta*, Samarqand 1902 (in *Year-book of Samarqand province*, fasc. VII, with separate pagination).

Wassāf — Wassāf, *Tārīkh*, Bombay 1269.

Zahīr — Zahīr al-dīn, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarıstān*, ed. Dorn, St Petersburg.

ZAN — Zapiski Akad. Nauk.

ZN — Sharaf al-dīn 'Alī, *Ẓafar-ñama*, Calcutta 1887-8.

ZVO — Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya.

I. THE MONGOL EMPIRE AND THE CHAGHATAY STATE

1. The empire created by Timur was a unique combination of elements of the Turco-Mongolian political and military system with elements of Muslim, mainly Persian, culture.

A number of works published on Chingiz-khan and his empire [1] have completely reversed the previous views that the Mongol conquests were nothing but a chaotic, elemental surge of savages who crushed everything by the weight of their numbers and destroyed the culture they could not understand. For all its simplicity, the existence of the nomads differs considerably from the primitive life of savages. In the steppe there is a contrast between rich and poor, with the resulting class antagonism; there is a necessity of defending property, especially herds, against the external enemy; there is also an armed struggle for grazing grounds, spreading sometimes over vast areas. Crises that arise make the people organise their forces and unite under one man or one clan. The usual conditions of nomad life [2], under which there is only a social but no political organisation, are soon replaced by a strong central authority with its concomitant concept of power on an imperial scale, which under favourable circumstances develops into an idea of world domination. For this idea to succeed, its bearer must dispose of an imposing and well organised force. The usual conditions of nomad life do not favour such aspirations. To achieve any amount of stability a nomad empire must be provided by its leader with the riches of civilised countries, either by conquest or by plundering expeditions. In a conquered country the nomads, and especially the dynasty and its principal supporters, gradually succumb to the influence of a higher culture, but their own heritage does not

[1] On the literature see *Turkestan*, p. 59 sq.; *Čingiz-khan* in *EI*

[2] The best description of these conditions is in V. V. Radloff, *Kudatku-Bilik*, Introduction (in German), p. LI sq *On the Uyghur problem* (in Russian), Suppl. to ZAN, vol. LXXII, No. 2, 1893, p. 65 sq.

disappear immediately and without trace. The conquerors endeavour to combine the freedom of nomad life with the benefits of civilisation, and this creates peculiar relations between the monarch, his tribesmen and his new subjects. The political system which emerged in the conqueror's original home, with some assistance from more cultured elements, finds in the conquered land conditions more favourable for its development. It triumphs over the political ideals which previously obtained in the conquered country, and leaves here more enduring traces than in its original home. The Mongol political organisation led to the establishment of a more stable political order in China, Muslim Asia and Russia [1], although it hardly affected the history of Mongolia in this respect. Similarly, the political organisation created by Muhammad and the first caliphs had a far greater influence on the fate of the countries conquered by the Arabs than on that of the Arabian peninsula.

2. The empire founded by Chingiz-khan is an exceptional phenomenon among nomad empires. In every other case the united nomads succeeded in establishing their domination only over a small number of civilised countries. The Mongols destroyed many civilised states, conquered the entire Asiatic continent (except India, Syria and the Arabian peninsula) and Eastern Europe, and founded an empire more vast than any that had ever existed. And yet, these exceptional results were obtained by a people not very numerous and apparently not in need of new territories. As had been the case with the empire of the ancient Persians, the bulk of the people remained in their native country. The Mongol epic, composed about 1240 A.D. and known under its Chinese title *Yüan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, [2] testifies to the Mongols' lack of interest in the activities of Chingiz-khan outside the confines of Mongolia. The sayings attributed to Chingiz-khan and his companions [3] refer only to the seizing and dividing

[1] See *Mir Islama*, 1912, I, 72.

[2] [Translated into German by E. Haenisch, Leipzig 1941, and into Russian by S. A. Kozin, Moscow 1941].

[3] Quoted by me in *ZVO*, X, 110 sq

of booty in war and hunt. This alone defined the entire object of the unification of the people under the power of the khan and the sum total of the rights and obligations of the khan and his lieutenants. Chingiz-khan's military successes which made this robber chief [1] the ruler of the largest kingdom in the world, were bound to endow his name with a glamour that rarely fell to the lot of other founders of dynasties. His will was immutable law not only in his lifetime but even after his death. None of his successors would have dared to place himself on a level with Chingiz-khan and demand the same worship. On ascending the throne the founder of the dynasty, like the former Turkish monarchs, took a title which entirely superseded his personal name, Temüchin. All the Mongol khans who succeeded him bore one single personal name before and after their accession. In China, under the Mongol emperors, as before, we find special names for the dynasty, for the years of rule of each emperor, posthumous names etc.; but outside the frontiers of China these emperors too were called by their personal names, even in official documents [2].

The Mongol empire stands out among the other nomad states both because of its dimensions and of its prolonged existence. V. V. Radloff [3] explains the latter by the fact that the Mongol state "had annexed many important countries of sedentary peoples, and that it broke up not into its constituent tribes, but into a number of civilised states (China, Central Asia, Persia etc.)". Apart from China, however, it is only in Persia that the Mongol domination can be regarded as the continuation and further development of the former political life.

3. In other works I have had the opportunity to speak of the state founded by the Mongols in Western Asia, and of its econo-

[1] At heart Chingiz-khan remained a robber chief to the end of his days, judging by the sayings attributed to him. I have drawn attention to this fact in the *E I.*, under *Chingiz-Khan.*

[2] See for example the famous letter of 1305 sent to the king of France from Persia Text, transcription and translation in Pauthier, *Le livre de Marco Polo,* II, Appendix No. 6.

[3] *Kudatku-Bilik,* p LVI. *On the Uyghur problem,* p. 75.

mic and cultural life [1]. The facts show that throughout that period and despite the complaints of contemporaries about the utter ruin of the country and the complete decadence of learning, Persia held first place in the contemporary world, culturally and in all probability economically also. Urban life developed steadily. New trade centres sprang up which retained their importance even after the Mongols. The country carried on an extensive sea trade with India and China and relations, busier than ever before, were established between the civilisations of the Near and Far East. The destruction of the caliphate made it easier for the followers of other creeds to take part in intellectual life together with the Muslims. The Mongol monarchs patronised secular science, and especially mathematics, astronomy and medicine. New observatories with perfected instruments were erected in north-western Persia. Persian astronomical treatises were translated into Greek in Byzantium [2]. With the co-operation of representatives of different nationalities a chronicle was composed in Persian incorporating the historical traditions of various peoples. The plan of this work has remained unsurpassed in its vastness.

The magnificent buildings of this epoch [3] are rated by specialists among the most remarkable creations of Muslim architecture and, no less than the development of exact science and historiography, bear witness to the broadening of the scope of cultural relations, as compared with the pre-Mongol period. [4]

4. In Central Asia an entirely different kind of life developed under the Mongols. Despite the fact that many outstanding Mus-

[1] *The Persian inscription on the wall of the Manucha mosque in Ani,* (in Russian), SPb. 1911 (Ani series No. 5). *Mir Islama,* I, 73 sq.

[2] See H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke,* Leipzig 1900, Supp. p. 161, (No. 397), and 219, (No. 80); C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī,* (Pubbl. del R. Osservatorio di Brera in Milano. No. XL, Parte I), pars I, p. XXXI, No. 5; C. Krumbacher, *Byz. Litteratur,* p. 622

[3] See in particular F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst,* Berlin 1910.

[4] This fact had already attracted the attention of Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie,* p 195. *Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale,* p. 84.

lim philosophers, naturalists, astronomers etc. were natives of Central Asia, such as al-Fārābī, Ibn-Sīnā (Avicenna) and al-Bīrūnī, and despite the considerable progress of arts in Central Asia during the earlier epochs under the influence of the Graeco-Bactrian culture and other factors, Muslim Māwarānnahr, as far as we know, had established no traditions in the domain of secular science or art [1]. In this respect Timur and his successors were, as we shall see, entirely dependent on Persia. Quite different was the importance of Central Asia in the history of Muslim theology. The Muslim religious high school, the *madrasa,* made its appearance in the caliphate's eastern marches earlier than in its central and western provinces. The probable explanation is that Islam underwent the influence of Buddhism, and the original home of the *madrasa* may have been the region lying on either side of the Amu-Darya and bordering on Balkh where Buddhism was paramount before the Muslim conquest [2]. Tirmidh, one of the towns of this region, retained its importance as a spiritual centre down to the fifteenth century. Here in the ninth century A.D. lived Muhammad ibn 'Isā Tirmidhi, the author of a canonical collection of *hadīths,* and Muhammad ibn

[1] Rashīd al-dīn's record of the learned Turkestanian Haybatallāh, who came to Persia at the end of the thirteenth century, who knew Turkish and Syriac and was acquainted with every science (cf *Mir Islama,* I, 82) stands quite alone. There is no information as to who his teachers were and whether he left any pupils in Turkestan.

[2] See my article *'Die persischen Šu'ūbija'* in *Z f Assyr.,* XXVI, 261, and *Bāmiyān* in *E I.* Also R. Hartmann, *Balkh, E.I* The fact that the report of the Chinese Hsuan-tsang coincides with early Arabic information proves clearly that the *Naubahār* of Balkh was a Buddhist temple and not a Zoroastrian sanctuary, as it is affirmed in tendentious Persian accounts. A E Krimsky, *History of Persia,* (in Russian), new ed 1914, I, 159, gives preference to the latter According to him the word *bahār* means simply "sanctuary" in Persian, which "it is easy to verify by looking it up in dictionaries" Unfortunately historical questions are not settled by dictionaries In order to conciliate the Chinese, Arabic and Persian versions it was suggested (Kern, *Histoire du bouddhisme dans l'Inde,* II, 434, quoted by L Bouvat, *Les Barmécides,* Paris 1912, p. 31) that a Persian fire temple had been erected on the site of the Buddhist temple destroyed by the *Muslims* But all the information on the "building of the Khusraus" and the "fire temple" refer to the building destroyed by the *Muslims.*

Ali Tirmidhi, the founder of the *ḥakīmī* [1] order of darvishes. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, during his revolt against the Abbasids, the Khwarazmshah Muhammad proclaimed a Tirmidh sayyid, 'Alā al-mulk Tirmidhi, caliph [2]. In the fourteenth century, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, all the power in Mawarannahr was for some time in the hands of Sayyid 'Alā al-mulk Khudāvand-zāda, Master (*ṣāḥib*) of Tirmidh [3]. In the second half of the fourteenth century and in the beginning of the fifteenth there are mentioned among Timur's companions two brother sayyids who ruled in Tirmidh and bore the title of *khānzāda* (probably a mistake instead of *khānd-zāda,* a contraction of *khudāvand-zāda*) Abul-Ma'ālī and Ali-Akbar [4]. Hereditary dynasties, whose power reposed on religious authority existed in several places, as for example in Bukhara [5]. Authors of numerous authoritative canonical works lived and died in Central Asia. Their descendants held the posts of hereditary *ṣadrs* or *Shaykh al-Islāms* [6] in various localities. In Samarqand this post

[1] On this order see *Kashf al-Mahjūb,* transl. by R. A. Nicholson, GMS, 1911, pp. 141 and 210. On the tomb of the founder of the order and on the inscriptions on this tomb see the article by R. Y. Rozhevitz in *Izv. Geogr. Obshch.,* XLIV, 647 and 652. The words of the inscription about the shaykhs whom he followed "in common" with Bukhari must refer, judging by Sam'ānī (f. 106a above. *wa yushāriku ma'ahu fī shuyūkhihi)* to the author of the collection of *hadīths.* The passage where the author speaks of the comfort which he derived from his own works during difficult moments in his life is distorted by Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt,* Oriental edition, p. 77.

[2] *Turkestan,* 375.

[3] *Ibn-Batoutah,* III, 48 sq.

[4] *ZN,* I, 210. An. Isk, MS. Asiatic Museum, f. 269b, actually writes in this case *khudāvand-zāda* instead of *khān-zāda.* See also *Texts on the history of Central Asia* (in Russian), I, 131 and 199. Babur writes, like Sharaf al-din. *khān-zāda,* ed. A. Beveridge, f. 20b.

[5] *Turkestan,* 326; *ZVO,* XVII, 02; *EI,* under *Bukhara.*

[6] Examples in Jamal Qarshi · *Turkestan,* texts, 142 sq. (e.g. 146 below, 151).

was occupied by the descendants of the author of the *Hidāya* [1].

During the Mongol period there still existed liberal-minded Mu'tazilites [2] among the Central Asian theologians, side by side with the representatives of orthodoxy. Besides the learned theologians there were also darvishes belonging to various orders, whose activities were even more successful. They had their cloisters (*khānqāh*) everywhere but especially in the regions bordering on the steppe — in Bukhara, Khwarazm, and on the Sïr-Darya, and partly also in the region of Balkh — in Tirmidh and Chaghāniyān (in the Surkhān valley). From all these places the darvish shaykhs could successfully spread their teachings among the nomads, who, for unknown reasons, were then, as they are now, more open to the influence of religious ascetics than to that of learned Muslim scholarship.

5. In Central Asia Muslim culture was bound gradually to conquer the nomads, and especially their khans, as had been the case in Persia, but the process was slower and had to contend with various factors. As early as the thirteenth century there were khans (Mubārak-Shāh and Boraq) who had established themselves in Mawarannahr and accepted Islam. But after 1271 for nearly half a century the khans once more lived on the steppes and remained heathens, though they looked after the welfare of the sedentary population. To this period belongs the building of the town of Andijan in Farghana ordered by the khans Khaydu and Tuva [3]. By the fourteenth century this town had eclipsed 'Ūzgand, capital of Farghāna in the days of the Qarakhanids, and had become the chief city of the province. A more decisive step towards the reception of Muslim culture was made by the khan Kebek (1318—1326), son of Tuva. He took up residence in Mawarnnhr nd built himself a palace. The valley of the Kash-

[1] On them see below. [The Digest of Islamic law called *al-Hidāya* was written by Burhān al-dīn Marghinānī who died in 593/1197].

[2] Ibn Arabshah, pp. 111 and 229.

[3] Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 478, referring to the lithographed edition of the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, Bombay 1311, p. 228, mentions only Khaydu, but the text of the SPb. University MSS. 60 (f. 246a) and 171 (f. 265a) gives: *Qaydū and Duvā*.

ka-Darya, which had once attracted Chingiz-khan, and where afterwards the chiefs of the Mongol detachments stationed in Mawarannahr had lived [1], became also the residence of the Chaghatay khans. At a distance of 2 farsakhs from the town of Nakhshab, or Nasaf, Kebek built himself a palace which gave its present name to the town of Qarshi [2] (*qarshi* in Mongol "palace") [3]. Kebek was the first Central Asian Mongol khan to strike money in his own name for the whole of the state. The monetary system adopted was the same as in Persia [4]: silver *dirhams* and *dinars* (= 6 dirhams) were coined. Under Timur and his descendants these coins were still called *kebek* money. Kebek remained a heathen, and it was only his brother and successor Tarmāshīrīn (1326—1334) who became a Muslim. The traveller Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa found him in residence in the neighbourhood of Nakhshab in 1333 [5]. This too sudden breaking away from nomad traditions caused a rising against Tarmashirin. He was deposed and killed. The khan's residence was transferred for some years to the banks of the Ili, and Islam, even in the purely religious sense, lost its pre-eminence.

6. It is quite probable that the new territorial divisions, with their new terminology, were introduced in the period between 1318 and 1334 when the Chaghatay khans took over the direct administration of Mawarannahr. The terms *tuman* — in Samarqand, Bukhara and Persia, and *örchin* [6] - in Farghana and Kashghar, designated small territorial units. The term *örchin* (of obscure etymology) later fell out of use. The term *tuman* (lit. "ten thousand") subsisted till the Russian conquest and after, down

[1] Wassaf, p 288, gives an example. Cf. also *Turkestan*, II, 460 sq.

[2] *ZN*, I, 111.

[3] The word *qarshi* is found already in the *Qutadghu-Bilik*. The Mongols borrowed it, in all probability, from the Uyghurs (cf Radloff's *Dictionary*, II, 207). The Turks may have borrowed it, as was the case with the word *tuman* (see below), from the original inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan

[4] *The Persian inscription of the Ani mosque*, p. 18. To the quotations given there can be added Ibn Arabshah, p. 52, where the *tuman*, worth 60,000 dirhams, is also mentioned.

[5] *Ibn-Batoutah*, III, 28, sq.

[6] This pronunciation is given in Radloff's *Dictionary*, I, 1075.

to the eighties. Both under Timur [1] and in the eighteenth century [2] the province of Samarqand consisted of seven *tumans*.

It is difficult to say on what basis this division was made. The word *tuman* [3] was used both as a military term to designate a detachment of 10,000 men, and in accountancy to designate a sum of 10,000 dinars (pronounced in Persian: *toman*). It is quite impossible that every *tuman* could have provided 10,000 men [4], or sums for the upkeep of such a force. As in Persia, the division must have been connected with the distribution of fiefs among the members of the clans which had accompanied the khan into Mawarannahr. According to Ibn Arabshah, there were four principal clans: Arlat, Jalayir, Qāuchīn and Barlas [5]. The expression used by Sharaf al-din might lead one to suppose that *Qauchin* was not the name of a clan but of the khan's personal thousand [6]. Of the other clans, the Arlat settled down in the northern part of present day Afghanistan, the Jalayir near Khojand, the Barlas on the Kashka-Darya. The head of each clan was to all intents and purposes the feudal lord of his province. All of them belonged to Turkicised Mongol families [7]. As we shall see, other groups of nomads are mentioned alongside with these.

[1] IAr. p. 17.

[2] *Year-book of the Samarqand province* (in Russian), V, 240.

[3] On the origin of this word see N. D. Mironov's remarks in *Zap. Vost Otd.*, XIX, p. XXIII

[4] Thus explained by IAr, *l.c.* According to Radloff's *Dictionary*, III, p 1218, in Bukhara the *tuman* was a measure of surface equal to 40,000 *tanābs*

[5] IAr., p. 8. On the existence among the nomad peoples of an aristocracy consisting of four families see N. I. Veselovsky in *Zap. Imp. Geogr. Obshch.*, Ethnogr. section, XXXIV, 535.

[6] *ZN*, I, 612. [In point of fact, the *ZN* says that Qauchin was the name of "the clan (*boy*) of the personal thousand". V.M.]

[7] On the original homes of these tribes see Rashid al-din, *Trudī Vost. Otd. Arch. Obshch.*, V, pp. 7, 9 and 10. The spelling in the MSS. of Rashid al-din and *Yüan-ch'ao-pi-shi* (*Works of the Peking Mission* [in Russian], IV, 31) points to the pronunciation *Arulat* and *Barulas*. In Timur's time the pronunciation was apparently *Arlat* and *Barulas*, which appears from the spelling in the MSS. and the metre of verses where the word *Barlas* occurs. Cf. the verse of Lutfī in A. Z. Validi, *The Chaghatay poet Lutfī* (in Russian), p. 23.

7. In the forties of the XIVth century we once again find a khan in Mawarannahr, and again on the Kashka-Darya — a certain Qazan who had built for himself the Zanjir-Saray palace two stages to the west of Qarshi [1]. His attempt to set up a firm rule in the country led to a conflict between him and the chiefs of clans. One of the latter, Qazaghan, raised the banner of rebellion and proclaimed khan one of the Mongol princes. After several years of struggle Qazan was defeated and killed in 1346-7 A.D. Qazaghan took over all the power, but this, however, did not extend beyond Mawarannahr. Power in the remaining part of the former Chaghatay state was assumed by another military leader, the chief of the Dughlat clan. In Persian sources such chiefs are styled "amirs", a title by which they were, apparently, known to the sedentary population of Central Asia. The term used by the nomads was the Turkish "beg" [2] (*kniaz*) or the Mongol "noyon" [3], as the chief begs were sometimes called. Both the amirs of Mawarannahr and the Dughlat amirs considered it necessary for the legalisation of their power to set upon the throne khans from among the true or supposed descendants of Chingiz-khan. The khans of Mawarannahr, however, were never anything but figure-heads deprived of all actual power, whereas some of the khans enthroned by the Dughlat amirs were men of marked personality and monarchs not only in name, but in fact. They handed on their power to their descendants and laid the foundations of a dynasty more enduring than that of the Dughlat amirs themselves.

As far as can be judged from available information, the military organisation of both states was more or less identical. It is a curious fact that the term *Chaghatay,* as applied to a nomad people, or one that has retained nomad traditions, was still current in Mawarannahr at a time when there were no longer any

[1] On the distance see *ZN,* I, 259. On Qazan-khan as builder of the palace *ibid.,* I, 775.

[2] This is the correct pronunciation of this ancient Turkish title which occurs already in the Orkhon inscription. Hence the name Ulughbek, or more correctly Ulughbeg.

[3] Usually written *nwyyn.*

khans descended from Chaghatay. Later the term was introduced into India by the Timurid dynasty exiled from Mawarannahr. In the eastern part of the former Chaghatay kingdom, which still possessed a dynasty of khans tracing their descent from Chaghatay, the term *Chaghatay* was no longer used. The nomads of the region called themselves *Moghūls* (Mongols), and from this ethnical denomination the Persian geographical term Moghulistan [1] ("the country of the Moghuls") was formed. Besides the official terms *Chaghatay* [2] and *Moghul* there existed derisive appellations [3] mutually applied by the inhabitants of the two states. The Moghuls called the Chaghatays *quraunas*, i.e. "mongrels" [4], while the Chaghatays reciprocated by calling the Moghuls *jete*, i.e. "robbers" [5]. The latter word seems to have been used by the Mongols as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century [6], with approximately the same meaning as that given by the fifteenth-century Turks to the term *qazaq*, in the sense of "freebooters", men who had broken off all relations with family, clan and state. In both states the traditions of the Mongol empire gradually gave way to the influence of Muslim culture, but this evolution was very slow and more than once caused internecine strife and the rising of the people against their rulers.

[1] Spelt *moghūl*. The pronunciation *moghol* is still preserved among the Afghan Mongols. See G. I. Ramstedt in *Izv. Russ. Kom.*, I series, No. 2, p. 13.

[2] The spelling *Chaghatay* which corresponds to the pronunciation is now partly accepted by scholars, especially German Russian Turkologists have tried to introduce it, but the form *Jaghatay* with its derivatives has taken firm root in Russian literature [see, however, the family name *Chaadayev* directly derived from Chaghatay. V.M.] It seems to me doubtful whether such terms should be altered out of considerations of linguistic purism.

[3] See *TR*, p. 148.

[4] On the meaning of the word see Marco Polo. ed. Yule-Cordier, I, 98.

[5] In the *TR* (Introduction, p. 75) the following meanings are given, with reference to a 'Mongol Dictionary': "worthless person", "a ne'er-do-well", "a rascal" [Cf. the Balkan term *chete* "band, gang". V.M.]

[6] Jamal Qarshi's text in my *Turkestan*, texts, p. 146. *al-Jutā'iya* (sic).

II. THE ULUS AMIRS; TIMUR'S REIGN

8. Unlike the years that followed, the twelve years of QAZAGHAN'S rule [1] were free from internal disorders and wars between the Chaghatays and the Moghuls. Qazaghan led the existence of a nomad chief. He spent the winter in Salī-Sarāy on the banks of the Amu-Darya (now the village of Saray), and the summer in the neighbourhood of the town of Munk [2] (now Baljūān). Plundering expeditions into neighbouring lands, without which the nomads would have felt cramped in Mawarannahr, were carried out with complete success in the direction of Herat and Khwarazm [3].

After the death of Qazaghan the power passed to his son ABDULLAH, who during his father's lifetime had lived in Samarqand and now wished to transfer his residence to that town. This led to a revolt of the other amirs, and in the ensuing struggle Abdullah was killed. There followed for Mawarannahr years of nearly ceaseless troubles and struggles with the Moghul khans. The outstanding events of these times were: the expeditions of the Moghul khan TUGHLUQ TIMUR against Mawarannahr in 1360 and 1361; the first appearance of Timur who, with the aid of the khan, became the ruler of Shahrisabz and Qarshi; Timur's alliance with HUSAYN, grandson of Qazaghan, and the revolt against the Moghuls; the defeat of Husayn and Timur in their struggle against the Moghuls on the river Chirchik (1365); a popular movement in Samarqand in the same year,

[1] He was killed by his son-in law in 1358. The date is in *ZN*, I, 39 (A.H. 759, the year of the Dog).

[2] *ZN*, I, 38. On the site of Munk see *Turkestan*, 69. [Both places are in the territory of the present-day Tājīk republic].

[3] The war with the Herat prince Malik Husayn is related in detail in the *ZN* The campaign against Khwarazm is briefly mentioned in the *ZN*, I, 38, and the "conquest" of Khwarazm is attributed to Abdullah, son of Qazaghan. According to An. Isk., As. Museum, f. 265b, Abdullah only took a ransom of 200 tomans from Khwarazm which he did without Qazaghan's permission and for which the latter reproached him.

put down by the Turkish amirs in 1366[1]; the proclamation as khan of the darvish KĀBUL-SHAH who wrote poetry that was still popular in the fifteenth century[2]; his deposition and the enthronement of the new khan, 'ĀDIL-SULTAN; Husayn's plans to build himself a stronghold in Balkh (1369) and Timur's efforts to dissuade him by quoting the example of his uncle Abdullah[3]; the struggle between Husayn and Timur, Timur's alliance with Husayn's adversaries among the Turkish amirs and especially among the Muslim clergy; Husayn's capture and death; the destruction of the citadel of Balkh, the transfer of the capital to Samarqand, the building of its citadel and of the town walls (1370).

Thus only ten years elapsed between TIMUR's first appearance and the time when the whole of Mawarannahr was subdued. So far, the circumstances which led to his elevation can be summed up as follows. The official history gives the exact date of Timur's birth[4]: Tuesday, 25 Sha'bān 736/9 April 1336, Year of the Mouse. The names of his father, the amir or noyon TARAGHAY, and of his mother, Takīna-khatun, are also given but nothing is said of the events of his life before the year 1360. The author of a versified chronicle[5], composed for Timur in Turki, affirms that many events, especially those relating to the beginning of his career, were left out of the chronicle at Timur's own wish, as they would have seemed incredible to the readers. The reports of Clavijo[6] and Ibn Arabshah[7] suggest other reasons for the chronicle's silence. Like Chingiz-khan Timur began his career as the leader of a robber band, probably in the troubled years following Qazaghan's death. Neither Timur, nor his father

[1] On this episode see my article in *ZVO*, XVII, 01-019.

[2] Characterization of the khan in the Anonym of Iskandar, f. 251a: "he had the nature of an *abdāl* (darvish) and the temperament of a *gorlandar* (darvish); he was good-natured and kindly. his poetry is fully popular even now".

[3] *ZN*, I. 176. The same in Nizam al-din, f. 40b.

[4] *ZN*, I, 10.

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, I, 23

[6] Clavijo, p. 238.

[7] IAr, p. 6.

Taraghay are mentioned in the accounts of Qazaghan's reign [1], although Taraghay was closely connected with noble amirs both in Mawarannahr and Moghulistan, and Timur later took advantage of these connections.

9. Taraghay came from the clan of Barlas which owned the valley of the Kashka-Darya, with the towns Kash (Shahrisabz) [2] and Nasaf (Qarshi). The head of the clan and prince of Kash was not TARAGHAY, but ḤĀJJĪ, another member of the clan. Nizām al-din Shāmī, author of the first version of the *Zafar-nāma*, calls Ḥājjī the "brother" of Timur [3]. This expression apparently means only that both of them belonged to the same clan. In the same sense other military chiefs of the Barlas [4] are called Timur's "brothers". According to the genealogy given by Sharaf al-din [5] the only common ancestor of Timur and Ḥājjī was QARACHAR, a contemporary of Chingiz-khan and Chaghatay. Rashid al-din refers to Qarachar only as one of Chaghatay's military chiefs [6] but Timur's historians ascribe to him the role of an all-powerful ruler of the Chaghatay ulus. The same is said of Qarachar's son and grandson whom historians of pre-Timurid times do not even mention. It was evidently impossible to invent similar legends about members of the two following generations whose memory was still too fresh. Even in the official history [7] Timur's father and grandfather are treated as private individuals. Nothing is said about when and how Hajji's ancestors came into

[1] Timur's spurious autobiography introduces Timur into all these accounts which, by the way, can be regarded as the best proof of the forgery. If Timur had really taken part in Qazaghan's wars, the official history could not have passed this over in silence.

[2] It seems that at that time the old name was retained only among the Turks, cf. Nizam al-din, f. 12b: "Shahrisabz which the Turks call Kash".

[3] Nizam al-din, ff. 12b and 13a. This information is quoted in *The heart of Asia* by F. H. Skrine and E D. Ross, London 1899, p. 168, note 5.

[4] E.g., f 18a, on Siddīq; f. 55a, on Idigü.

[5] On the genealogy of Ḥājjī see *ZN*, I, 40. Timur's ancestors are mentioned in detail at the end of the Introduction to the *ZN* They are also enumerated on Timur's tomb-stone

[6] Rashid al-din, ed. Blochet, p. 178.

[7] *ZN*, II, 730.

power in Kash, nor what relations existed between the Barlas and their princes, and the Chaghatay khans Kebek, Tarmashirin and Qazan, who lived in the valley of the Kashka-Darya.

According to Ibn Arabshah, Timur was born in the village of Khoja-Ilghar in the neighbourhood of Kash [1]. This may mean that Taraghay did not live in the town itself. All that is known about Taraghay is that he was a pious Muslim, a friend of scholars and darvishes, especially of Shaykh Shams al-din Kulār (or Kulāl according to the *Zafar-nama* [2], or Shams al-din Fākhūrī, according to Ibn Arabshah [3]. It is reported that one day in his youth Timur went in to see the Shaykh when the latter was practising the *dhikr* with his darvishes, and waited patiently until they had finished. The Shaykh and the darvishes were touched by his pious behaviour and offered up a prayer for him. In later years Timur regarded this prayer as the primary cause of his success [4]. Taraghay seems to have had friends also among the Chaghatay and Moghul courtiers, though hints at this are found only in the history of his son. Thus the account of the struggle against the Moghuls in 1364 mentions the friendship between Timur's father and the father of the amir Hamīd [5]. The relations between Taraghay and Timur and the other military chiefs would probably be clearer if we possessed more detailed information on Taraghay's family and Timur's first wives. There is nothing in the sources on the origins of Timur's mother, or of Taraghay's other wife, Qadak-khatun, who lived till 1389 [6]. In 1360 Timur already had two sons: JAHĀNGĪR, who died in 1376 at the age of twenty [7], and OMAR-SHAYKH, killed in Janu-

[1] IAr, p. 6. In no other source is Timur's birthplace mentioned. Nor does the name of the village Khoja-Ilghar occur elsewhere, so far as I know.

[2] At the end of the Introduction Timur's visit to his tomb is also incidentally mentioned in 1396 (*ZN*, I, 795) and in 1399 (*ZN*, II, 209). On the meaning of the word *kulāl* cf. *ZVO*, XXIII, 2, note 7.

[3] IAr, p. 7. On the Shaykh's life see *XVO*, XXIII, 3 sq.

[4] IAr, pp 7 and 9.

[5] *ZN*, I, 98.

[6] *ZN*, I, 490.

[7] *ZN*, I, 271 (above)

ary 1394, at the siege of a Kurdish fortress. According to the *Zafar-nama,* at that moment Omar-Shaykh was forty [1], which would suggest that he was older than Jahangir, but the majority of the sources name Jahangir as Timur's eldest son. Nothing is known of Omar-Shaykh's mother. All that is known of Jahangir's mother is her name which is mentioned by Khwāndamīr [2]. Taraghay died in 1360 and was buried in Kash, in the family mausolem. Subsequently in 775/1373-4 Timur built a new mausoleum in that town near the cathedral mosque, by the side of Shaykh Shams al-dīn's tomb and had his father's remains transferred to it [3].

10. Nothing is heard of Timur's relations with the shaykhs and other representatives of Islam between the years 1360 and 1370. During this decade, which laid the foundations of his future power, Timur devoted himself exclusively to military affairs for which he had prepared himself from the age of ten by war and the chase [4]. He took part in the struggle between the Chaghatays and the Moghuls, constantly changing sides. He sought to strengthen by family ties his alliance with such as could be useful to him, and gathered adherents, principally from among the Barlas, who served him faithfully to the end. But even when he was left quite alone he never lost courage under reverses. The events which took place in 1362 struck him particularly hard. Timur and Husayn, a grandson of Qazaghan, were taken prisoner by the Turcomans on the Murghab and spent sixty-two days in captivity in the village of Mākhān [5]. Finally the local ruler ALI BEG let them go but without equipping them for the journey. In this sorry plight they were helped by MUBĀRAK-SHAH, "a rich Turcoman of Mākhān", chief of the Sanjari tribe. For this service

[1] *ZN,* I, 668.

[2] *HS,* Tehran ed., III, 175 (in the margin). Narmish-agha. Indian ed., III, 85: Būrmīsh-agha.

[3] Thus at the end of the Introduction. On the subsequent fate of the mausoleum see *ZVO,* XXIII, 4 sq.

[4] *ZN,* I, 15.

[5] *ZNN,* I, 67. According to An Isk. (f. 248b), sixty-one days. Mākhān was situated on the site of the present day Marv, see Barthold, *Irrigation of Turkestan* (in Russian), p. 61.

Mubārak-shah's descendants were highly esteemed even in the times of Timur's successors [1]. On the Amu-Darya Timur received help from his elder sister Qutluq-Turkan [Tärkän?]-agha, who came to him from the neighbourhood of Bukhara. Timur spent forty eight days in hiding in his sister's house in Samarqand [2]. Some time after, Timur and Husayn, at the head of 100 men, found themselves in Sistan, whither they had come at the invitation of the local ruler to help him fight an enemy of his. It was here that Timur received the arrow wounds from which he suffered to the end of his days. Some sinews of his right arm were severed [3] so that it became shrivelled [4], and his right leg was lamed (hence his nickname "lame", *lang* in Persian, *aqsaq* in Turkish).

The well-known anecdote about Timur and the ant is connected with the same event [5]. Many years later, in 1383, Timur met in Sistan the chief who had wounded him and he ordered him to be shot with arrows [6].

In spite of all these mishaps, Timur and Husayn finally succeeded in overcoming their foreign and domestic enemies and seizing power in Mawarannahr. Qazaghan's grandson became chief amir with Timur as his right hand man. From the very first their alliance had been sealed by marriage ties. Uljay-Turkan-agha [7], Husayn's sister, is mentioned as Timur's wife in an early report on the conflict with the Turcomans on the Murghab. But family ties did nor prevent the amirs from clashing. In 1366,

[1] *ZN*, I, 69. More clearly in An. Isk. (f. 286b).

[2] *ZN*, I, 71; also in Nizam al-din, f. 17a.

[3] According to Clavijo, p. 240, Timur lost two fingers besides.

[5] An Isk. says (f. 249a): "several sinews snapped asunder, so that, in the opinion of some, his greed was cut down". IAr. also speaks of Timur's being maimed, pp. 6, 217 and 234. [On June 19, 1941, Timur's tomb was opened under the supervision of Prof. A. A. Semenov. His right leg was found to be shorter than the left and grown fast to the hip V.M.].

[5] This anecdote is already in An. Isk., f. 249a. Cf. A. Pavet de Courteille, *Mirâdj-Nâmeh*, Paris 1882, pp. 70-72, from a work also written for Mirza Iskandar.

[6] *ZN*, I, 372.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 65 [Read: *tärkän*].

after the suppression of the Samarqand movement, Husayn imposed a fine on Timur's friends. To help them Timur gave all he could, including his wife's earrings. Husayn recognised the ornament but did not return it [1]. Soon after Uljay-Turkan-agha died and her death severed all relations between the former companions [2].

Between 1366 and 1370 Timur was alternately at war with Husayn and friendly with his enemies, or again reconciled with him and commissioned by him to fight his former allies. Timur's relations with amir Kay-Khusrau, ruler of the province of Khuttalān (between the Vakhsh and the Panj) are very typical. In 1360 Husayn executed his brother Kay-Qubād [3]. During the war against the Moghuls in 1361 Kay-Khusrau went over to the khan [4] and married Tümän-Qutluq, his second cousin, thus becoming his "son-in-law". When Kay-Khusrau returned to Tashkent in 1366, Timur was on bad terms with Husayn. He became friendly with Kay-Khusrau and sought the hand of his daughter Ruqiya-khanīka (by his wife Tümän-Qutluq) [5] in marriage for his son Jahangir. In 1369 Timur, as amir Husayn's loyal subject, crushed Kay-Khusrau's revolt and forced him to flee to the Alay [6]. In 1370 Kay-Khusrau joined Timur who had rebelled against Husayn, and when the latter had been taken prisoner, was allowed to kill him according to the law of *vendetta* (*qiṣaṣ*) [7], as recognised by the Qor'ān. In 1372, during the war with the Khwarazmians, Kay-Khusrau was accused of treason and executed on the written order (*yarliq*) of the nominal khan Suyurghatmish. The order was carried out by Husayn's *nukars* on the principle of the *vendetta*.

[1] *Ibid*, I, 113. Nizam al-din, f. 26a

[2] *ZNN*, I, 119 sq. The report that Timur killed his own wife (IArb, p. 7) is improbable.

[3] *ZN*, I, 50.

[4] *ZN*, 59.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 161 Nizam al-din, f 37a.

[6] *ZN*, I, 186.

[7] *Ibid.*, 197, 204 sq. Nizam al-dın, f. 44a.

[8] *ZNN*, I, 243. On the khan's *yarliq* see AR, f. 64a.

11. In 1370, at the height of his struggle against Husayn, Timur acquired a new spiritual protector in the person of SAYYID BARAKA. The information regarding his antecedents is conflicting. The Sayyid remained in Timur's dominions and received in fief the town of Andkhoy which was still in the possession of his descendants in the fifteenth century [1]. According to Sharaf al-din [2] the Sayyid then became Timur's constant companion. After death they were buried in the same mausoleum, and in such a manner that Timur's face was turned towards the Sayyid [3].

Little more is known of Timur's relations with other members of the clergy. The report on Timur's accession to the throne in 1370 names, alongside Sayyid Baraka, the brothers Abul-Ma'āli and Ali Akbar [4]. Like Baraka, these sayyids of Tirmidh remained influential in Timur's kingdom till the end of his reign, ostensibly at least, for on one occasion they betrayed their new monarch. In 1371 several members of the clergy, namely Shaykh Abul-Layth of Samarqand and Sayyid Abul-Ma'āli of Tirmidh, took part in a plot against Timur, together with some amirs. Timur treated the conspirators with great leniency. The Shaykh was allowed to proceed to Mecca, and the Sayyid was exiled [5], but evidently soon pardoned, for in 1372 he took part in the expedition against Khwarazm [6]. From then onwards the Tirmidh sayyids remained Timur's faithful adherents, and in 1394, on his way back from his last western campaign, Timur took up his quarters in Tirmidh in the house of *khudāvand-zāda* 'Alā al-mulk [7].

There were influential members of the clergy in other towns of Mawarannahr, besides Tirmidh. Two of these towns had a

[1] *IAr*, p. 15.
[2] *ZN*, 195.
[3] I quote the information on the Sayyid and his burial in greater detail in *ZVO*, XXIII, 24 sq.
[4] *ZN*, I, 210. Also called *Khudāvand-zāda*, on which name see above, p. 6.
[5] *Ibid*, I, 231.
[6] *Ibid.*, 241.
[7] *Ibid*, II, 593.

special importance for Timur: his birthplace Kash and his capital Samarqand. The account of the visit of members of the clergy [1] to Timur's camp in Qarabagh, in the winter of 1403-1404, names after Sayyid Baraka and the *khudāvand-zādas* of Tirmidh only the two Shaykh al-Islams of Samarqand: Shaykh Khoja 'Abd al-Avval and his second cousin [2] Khoja 'Iṣām al-din, as well as Khoja Afḍal of Kash and the sons of the Shaykh al-Islam of Kash, Abd al-Ḥamīd and Abd al-Rahmān. The shaykhs of Bukhara are also referred to but none of them is separately named. Although the famous Bahā al-din, the founder of the Naqshbandi order, was Timur's contemporary, the sources say nothing about the relations between Timur's court and the shaykhs of Bukhara. The Shaykh al-Islam of Samarqand, 'Abd al-Malik (cousin and predecessor of 'Abd al-Avval) is mentioned in the account of the events of 1383 when, together with other members of the clergy, he strove to comfort Timur in his grief over the death of his sister Qutluq-Turkan-agha [3].

A somewhat unusual reception was awarded Timur by the members of the Khorasan clergy in 1381. In Andkhoy, an idiot, Bābā Sangū, regarded as a saintly personage, threw before Timur a piece of raw meat from the breast of an animal. Timur declared that this was a favourable omen and that God was evidently delivering into his hands Khorasan, "the breast of the surface of the earth" [4]. On the Harirud, in a region to the south of present day Kūhsān, in the village of Tāyābād [5] there lived an ascetic ZAYN AL-DIN ABU BAKR TĀYĀBĀDĪ. On his arrival

[1] *ZN*, 560.

[2] On their family relations see IArab, p. 229.

[3] *ZN*, I, 356 [**tarkan*].

[4] *Ibid*, 310.

[5] Written *Tāybād*, but the reading *Tāyābād* is given by Sam'ānī (f. 102b) and Yāqūt (I, 816) The same authors locate the village in the neighourhood of Būshang. On the latter see my *Historical and Geographical Survey of Iran* (in Russian), p. 41. Timur reached it from the north, from Kūsūya, a town on the Harirud, downstream from Būshang. [The mausoleum of Zayn al-Din erected by Shahrukh in 848 lies near the village of Yūsufābād near the Afghan frontier, see *Āthār-e-Irān*, 1938, III/2, 179-99]

there Timur sent word to the hermit that he wished to see him. The holy man answered that he had no business with Timur, and should Timur have any business with him, it was for him to come. The meeting then took place. Later Timur told the historian Ḥāfiẓi-Abrū [1] that, whenever he had met ascetics, they had shown signs of fear, and only in his interview with Tāyābādī it was he, and not the hermit, who was awed. Ibn Arabshah, who devotes a whole chapter to this meeting [2] reports that the shaykh laid his hands on the back of Timur who had knelt down before him. As Timur later said it seemed to him as though the sky had fallen upon the earth and he was being crushed between them. After listening to the Shaykh's edifying discourse, Timur asked him why he did not similarly admonish his own monarch, the prince of Herat, who was addicted to prohibited pleasures. The shaykh replied: "We have spoken to him and he has not obeyed. God has sent you against him. Now we say to you: 'If you do not obey, God will send someone else against you' ". It is difficult to say how far this conversation [3] has been embellished by Timur and the historians who took down his words. In any case, Timur's subsequent behaviour betrays no trace of the shaykh's influence, for the conquest of Khorasan was carried out with the usual barbarity, and when the neighbouring Būshang was taken by assault, all its defenders were put to the sword [4]. According to Ibn Arabshah Timur counted Shaykh Zayn al-din

[1] MS. Dorn 290, f. 280b Very briefly in *ZN*, I, 311 sq.

[2] IAr, p 20 sq The shaykh is here called Abu Bakr Khwāfī from the name of the town situated some distance to the west of Būshang (*Khāf* on modern maps). According to the *Rashaḥāt*, MS. Univ. 298, f. 34a, Tashk lith., p 56, Bahā al-din Naqshband purposely visited Herat on his way to Mecca to see Zayn al-din Tāyābādī, with whom he spent three days According to Jāmī, *Nafahāt*, Or. ed, 321-323, the name Zayn al-din Abu Bakr al-Khwāfī belonged to another shaykh who died on Sunday 2 Shawwal 838/1 May 1435.

[3] Incidentally it may be gathered from this conversation that Timur had no previous acquaintance with the shaykh, whereas according to Timur's spurious autobiography he had received, at the age of twenty one, his Persian motto *rāstī-rastī*, "salvation in rectitude", from Shaykh Zayn al-din

[4] *ZN*, I, 314.

among the three spiritual patrons to whom he owed his success [1] (the two others being Shams al-din Kulār and Sayyid Baraka), but in Timur's history the shaykh is no longer mentioned after 1381, although he lived for another eight years [2].

The historians who wrote under Shāhrukh, when the Sharī'at had superseded Chingiz-khan's law, were naturally inclined to exaggerate Timur's piety and religious zeal. It is true however that Timur was a patron of *ulamā*, conversed with them as with equals [3] and showed particular respect for the Prophet's descendants. Apart from Timur's [3] own descendants, the sayyids were perhaps the only people in Timur's kingdom whose life was regarded as inviolate [5]. Ḥāfiẓi-Abrū also reports that Timur concerned himself with the strengthening of the faith and the Shari'at, that in his time "none dared study philosophy and logic" [6] and that he never intervened in the financial affairs of the waqfs. The phrase about philosophy is probably an exaggeration, for in a further passage Hāfizi-Abru goes on to say that Timur patronised philosophers [7]. Of secular sciences, history was the one with which Timur was the most familiar. What

[1] IAr., p 9.

[2] According to Jami (*Nafahāt*, p. 326) the date of his death was Thursday, the last day of Muharram 791/28 January 1389; the same date is given by Mu'īn al-din Isfizārī, MS. As. Mus 574 agk, f. 69a.

[3] HAbru as quoted by AR, f. 17b. "the difference between the ruler and the slaves did not appear". Cf. Ibn Shuhba as quoted by IAr, p 97, on the conversation in Aleppo: "and everyone of the doctors present began to answer with eagerness thinking that he was in a college".

[4] Cf. Timur's treatment of Miranshah and especially of Sultan-Husayn (at the siege of Damascus).

[5] In addition to the story about the Tirmidh shaykhs, quoted above, cf the fate of the sayyids of Mazandaran.

[6] AR, f. 17a. In the chapter containing the characterisation of Timur's reign the author makes a reference to the words of the "original author" (f. 19a), i.e to HAbru. The latter's text has been preserved in the MS. India Office, Ethé, Catalogue No. 171, on which see *IAN*, 1914, p. 881

[7] *Ibid.*, ff. 17a-17b According to C. Huart, the treatises of the "Brothers of Purity" were translated into Persian for Timur, *Deri* in EI. However the expression used by his source (*Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā*, Bombay ed 1894, p 3) seems rather to mean that the translation was made for someone in Timur's entourage.

Hafizi-Abru says about his knowledge of the history of the Turks, the Persians and the Arabs [1] is fully confirmed by the impression produced upon the historian Ibn Khaldūn by his conversation with Timur [2]. Timur had also some notions of medicine and astronomy [3]. Scholars in these two branches of science were among the learned men whom he had brought to Samarqand. Such were Ḥusām al-din Ibrahim-Shah of Kirman, "the Messiah and Hippocrates of his times" [4], and Maulānā Ahmad, physician and astronomer, who in 808/1405-6 told Ibn Arabshah that he had made astrological calculations for the next 200 years [5]. There exists, however, a report that Timur had no use for astrology and preferred divination with the aid of the Qor'an [6]. It was alleged that religious zeal prompted Timur to close the places of entertainment in Baghdad, Tabriz, Sultaniya, Shiraz, Kirman and Khwarazm (the ancient Urganj) in spite of the consequent loss to the Treasury [7]. More often than not religion was for Timur a means for attaining some political aim, rather than a cause determining his actions. In Syria he took up the cause of 'Ali and his descendants, which made the Syrians regard him as a fervent Shi'a [8], yet in Khorasan he re-established Sunni orthodoxy [9], and in Mazandaran he punished Shī'a darvishes for desecrating the memory of the Prophet's companions [10]. No wonder that Muslim doctors of law always feared some snare

[1] AR, f. 17b.

[2] As recorded by IAr., pp. 108 and 219

[3] AR, f 17b

[4] *Ibid*, f. 19a [The reference is to the healing gifts of Jesus Christ].

[5] IAr., p. 230.

[6] *ZN*, II, 93 and 111. This story is already in Ghiyāth al-din Ali, cf. *Dnevnik*, I, 110 sq.

[7] AR, f. 19a. HAbru, MS Ind. Off, f. 13a. Nothing is said of the places of entertainment in Samarqand and other towns nearer to Timur's residence

[8] IAr, p. 97. This mistake has also misled European scholars, e.g. A. Muller, *Der Islam*, II, 316

[9] Conversation about the faith with 'Ali Mu'ayyad, head of the Shi'a Sarbadārs, in AR, f 75a.

[10] *ZN*, I, 577, and with more detail in the Mazandaran historian Ẓāhīr al-din, p. 430 sq

in their conversations with Timur. A typical scene, which took place on the Kur in 1403, is related by Nizam al-din [1]. Timur asked his *ulamā* why they did not follow the example of former Islamic divines who instructed their sultans. They replied at first that the monarch was setting an example by his behaviour and therefore did not need any instruction from such as they, and only when they had made quite sure that "the word had been spoken sincerely" did they venture to inform him of some abuses committed in the provinces.

12. The loyalty of his companions in arms was far more important to Timur than the loyalty of his *ulamā*. He was first and foremost a warrior and a true prince of the "Mongol" type, and religion took second place with him. He regarded a *Tājīk* (see above, *Four Studies*, I, p. 15) as a man devoid of military valour and not dangerous to his enemies [2]. As an upholder of Mongol traditions Timur attached a great importance to connections with the house of Chingiz-khan. When in 1370 he seized the harem of his predecessor Husayn[3] he took to himself of the latter's wives, one of whom was Sarāy-Mulk-khātūn, daughter of khan Qazan [4]. As far as we know Timur had no children by her [5], but, as the daughter of a khan, she enjoyed the status of Timur's senior wife, although in Husayn's harem the chief wife was a daughter of khan Tarmashirin, who after Husayn's fall was married to the Jalayir khan Bahrām. Throug Sarāy-Mulk-khātūn Timur acquired the right to the title of "son-in-law" [1] (*scil.* of the khan) which figures on his coins. In 1397 Timur married the

[1] Nizam al-din, f. 210b. More briefly in *ZN*, II, 547 sq.

[2] *ZN*, II, 574· passage on Ahmad Jalayir.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 207.

[4] AR,f 34a. She was five years old at time of her father's downfall and was therefore about five years younger than Timur.

[5] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II, 257, calls her the mother of Shāhrukh, but according to Khwāndamīr, Tehr ed, III, 175, Ind ed., III, 85, Shahrukh's mother was Toghay-Tarkān-agha, a concubine of Timur. Khwāndamīr gives as reference the "Genealogy" composed in Shāhrukh's times.

[6] In Persian *gūrkān* [but derived from the Turkish *kurakan*. *V M.*]

daughter of the Mongol khan Khizr-Khoja, Tükäl-khanum [1] who took second place in the harem as "Lesser Lady" (*kīchīk khānum*) [2].

Prince SUYURGHATMISH [3] was proclaimed khan in 1370. After his death in 1388 his son SULTAN-MAḤMŪD [4] was set upon the throne. In those days Timur took the khans with him on his campaigns and did not keep them cloistered in Samarqand, as in later years. Sultan Mahmūd took part in the battle of Angora in 1402 and captured the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd [5]. According to Sharaf al-din the khan died in the same year [6], but Nizam al-din who wrote later, speaks of him as still living [7]. According to the Anonym of Iskandar [8] Timur, out of respect for the khan, had money coined in his name for another year. However that may be, numismatic evidence shows that Timur set no other khan upon the throne and to the end of his reign the money was coined in the name of Sultan Mahmud khan. The name of the khan was also read in the *khuṭba* on Fridays. But there is no evidence that Timur had at any time rendered honours to the khans in the presence of the troops and in solemn surroundings. Honours due to the monarch according to Mongol custom were always personally received by Timur [9].

Notwithstanding the oath of allegiance taken by the amirs

[1] *ZN*, II, 9.

[2] Clavijo, p. 296 In IAr., p. 228. The term *kīchīk khānum* is also found in the *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, f. 33

[3] *ZN*, I. 199

[4] *Ibid*, 459 According to An. Isk, f. 251a, Suyurghatmish died in 786/1384, but out of respect for him Timur had the money struck in his name for three years longer. The coins of Suyurghatmīsh lead up to 789, those of Sultan-Mahmūd begin in 790.

[5] *ZN*, II, 438.

[6] *ZN*, 464.

[7] Nizam al-din, f. 11b, uses the formula: *khallada 'llāhu mulkahu wa-sultānahu*. In the corresponding passage, AR, f. 142a, does not mention the khan's death either. Further, f. 143b, he reports the arrival of Egyptian ambassadors in 1403 and mentions the reading of the *khuṭba* and the coining of the money in the name of Sultan Mahmud and Timur.

[8] F 251b. The date of the khan's death is given, similarly to the *ZN*, as A.H 805.

[9] Examples: *ZN*, I, 211, 506-515, 613 etc.

in 1370, Timur had to overcome several rivals in bitterly contested struggles before he became the veritable sovereign of his people. The spirit of revolt manifested itself in individuals and in whole tribes, particularly the Jalāyirs in the northern part of Mawarannahr, near Khojand. The Jalāyir tribe paid a heavy price for their insubordination. The measure taken against them corresponds to the modern disbanding of a military unit: the ulus of the Jalayirs ceased to exist and its remnants were incorporated in the troops of other amirs (1376) [1].

From the outset Timur hastened to do that which he had earlier censured the son and grandson of Qazaghan for doing: he built fortresses, surrounded towns with walls and thus transgressed Chingiz-khan's testament. In the winter of 1365-6 Timur constructed the walls around the town of Qarshi [2], in 1370 the walls and citadel [3] of Samarqand, in 1380 the walls[4] and the Aq-Saray palace in Shahrisabz [5]. Nevertheless, Timur succeeded in getting himself accepted by the Chaghatays and in forming them into a disciplined military force, blindly devoted to their chief; in appearance they bore more resemblance to Chingiz-khan's army than to normal Muslim troops.

Clavijo speaks several times of the Chaghatays and their special status in Timur's kingdom: "they go where they will with their flocks, graze them, sow and live where they wish, summer and winter; they are free and pay no tribute to the king, because they serve him in time of war when he calls them". On their campaigns they took their wives, children and flocks with them [6]. Many terms connected with military organisation occur in Timur's history, but their meaning has not yet been clearly

[1] *ZN*, I. 264

[2] In the *ZN*, I, 111, the expression *hişār-i Qarshi* is used, in AR, f. 50a, cf. *ZVO*, XVII, 018: *bārū-yi Qarshi*.

[3] *ZN*, I, 217 (*qul'a-va-hişār*, also Nizam al-din, f. 45a, AR, f, 61b

[4] In the *ZN*, I, 301 sq, *hişār* (with a report on the distribution of allotments among the amirs), also Nizam al-din, f. 59b. AR, f 73b, *bārū*.

[5] According to AR it was built by Khwarazmian craftsmen According to Nizam al-din the building was regarded as unique in its genre

[6] Clavijo, p. 220.

ascertained. The terms *il* and *ulus* [1] are equally applied to large tribal groups. The word *tuman,* literally "ten thousand" [2], is also used in the same sense. A *thousand* was rendered by the Persian word *hazāra,* which seems to have been adopted by the Turks and the Mongols at an early date [3]. Smaller military units were designated by the Mongol word *khoshun* . According to one report, by *khoshun* a force of one thousand men was meant in Moghulistan [5]. Some passages in Timur's history show that in Mawarannahr a *khoshun* was only 50-100 men strong [6]. The order to attend the *qurultay* (an assembly which in Timur's time seems to have become merely a parade) or to take part in an expedition was delivered through *tuvajis.* This charge was regarded as extremely important and second only to the suzerain's [7]. Under Timur there was a custom, which could hardly have existed in Chingiz-khan's time, that the chiefs of military divisions had to give a receipt [8] when the monarch's orders had been transmitted to them.

Military formation was on the whole the same as in other Turkish or Mongol armies, but in military art Timur, besides being a guardian of traditions, was also looked upon as an innovator. In the battle with Tokhtamïsh in 1391 he employed some special formation of seven large detachments which had been unheard of until then [9]. In addition to the usual movements of massed armies which naturally could not be concealed, there

[1] E.g. the *il* of the Jalāyirs, *ZN,* I, 227; the *ulus* of the Jalāyirs, *ibid,* 264.

[2] Cf. e g. *ZN,* I, 109· *tuman-va-īl-i khud.*

[3] It has been preserved in the name of the Hazāre, a tribe of Mongolian descent in Afghanistan

[4] Written. *qūshūn* or *qūshūn.*

[5] *TR,* p. 55.

[6] *ZN,* I, 87. 200 men for a *khoshun;* I, 139. 100 horsemen are divided into two *khoshuns;* I, 154: Timur divides 600 men into 7 *khoshuns.* According to AR, f 165a, in the report on the activities of Mirza Omar after Timur's death, the *khoshun* is said to consist of 500 men.

[7] *ZN,* I, 216.

[8] *muchülga,* e.g *ZN,* I, 383. In the *Mu'izz al ansāb,* Paris MS, f. 81, the introduction of this custom is ascribed to Qarachar.

[9] *ZN,* I, 532. Also in Nizam al-din, f. 91b.

were occasions when Timur's troops appeared in places where they could not have been expected. According to Ibn Arabshah, Timur invented a special head-dress for his soldiers by which they could recognise one another, and assigned different places for them to assemble in. He himself left Samarqand as though making for Khojand and the steppe but, on the way, swerved suddenly in another direction, picked up the other detachments and appeared unexpectedly in Luristan [1], in the extreme West of Persia. Although the official history of Timur does not mention this ruse, its account of his appearence in Luristan in 1386, at the beginning of the so-called "Three Years' " campaign, shows that it was quite sudden. It records [2] Timur's return in 1385 to Samarqand, the winter spent in Qarshi, the decision to march against Iran, the gathering of troops in Samarqand, the crossing of the Amu-Darya, the arrival in Fīrūzkūh and the rapid advance from thence into Luristan, with one fifth of the troops (the tuvajis had been ordered to pick two men out of every ten).

Despite the extreme barbarity with which Timur's wars were conducted, the tales of the exploits of individual warriors and of their behaviour towards their monarch and even their enemies, contain epic traits reminiscent of the stories of European chivalry. When in 1378 Tokhtamish, with Timur's aid, defeated his rival Timur Malik, one of the latter's stalwarts was captured. Tokhtamish wished to spare him and take him into his service, but the warrior knelt before the khan and said: "while Timur Malik was alive I enjoyed the best of lives as amir and ruler. I I could tear out my eye that sees you upon his throne. If you wish to grant me a favour, have me beheaded and let Timur Malik's head be laid upon my head, and his body upon my body, so that his gentle and noble person shall not lie on the earth of humiliation". The wish of the loyal paladin was carried out [3]. Another typical story relates the adventures of two of Timur's

[1] IAr., p. 45.

[2] *ZN*, I, 392 sq.

[3] AR, f. 71b. The same tale is to be found in the Anonym of Iskandar (MS. As. Mus, f. 243a, London MS., f. 256a), from which it was probably borrowed by Abd al-Razzaq's source, Ḥāfiz-i-Abrū.

commanders, the Juchid prince Ibāj-oghlan and the Chaghatay amir Jalāl, son of Hamīd, when crossing the steppe in the year 1393 [1]. The men were tortured by thirst but could find only two mouthfuls of water. Ibaj drank a mouthful but his thirst was not quenched and he asked Jalal to give him his share too. This reminded the latter of a tale he had once heard from Timur about two travellers, an Arab and a Persian who were thirsting in the desert. The Arab had still some water left. The Persian said that only this water could save him from death and that if the Arab would let him have it, it would be the best proof of the famous generosity of the Arabs. The Arab replied: "I know that if I give you the water I shall die, but the fame of the Arabs is dearer to me than life itself". The Persian obtained the water and his life was saved. Jalal added: "I shall do as that Arab and give you the water, so as to lay an obligation on the descendants of Juchi and his ulus and maintain the good fame of the ulus of Chaghatay. All I ask of you is to report what happened to the monarch on your return, so that the tale may be included in the annals". Ibāj gave his promise, received the water and recovered his strength. Jalāl too managed to escape death. They both reached Karbalā, the site of Imam Husayn's tomb, and later went before Timur and related to him what had happened in the desert. Timur extolled Jalal's sacrifice and his concern for the honour of the Chaghatay ulus and recalled the gallantry of his father Hamīd.

Whether these tales be true or not, they show that an ideal of chivalry existed in Timur's army. Similar stories were naturally invented about Timur and his sons. Feats of personal valour were ascribed to Timur in spite of his physical disability. In 1379, during the siege of Urganj, Yūsuf Sūfī, ruler of Khwarazm, challenged Timur to single combat. Timur accepted the challenge, galloped up to the moat of the fortress and called to his opponent, but the latter broke his word and did not appear. Soon after Timur received from Tirmidh some newly ripened water-melons. He decided to share the gift with his enemy and sent him some

[1] *ZN*, I, 637; AR, f. 99a.

of the fruit on a golden dish. Yusuf ordered the water-melons to be thrown into the water and gave the dish to the gate-keeper [1]. In 1383 in Sïstan, Timur wanted to take part in the battle and refrained only in response to the entreaties of his amirs [2].

As to Timur's sons, Omar-Shaykh distinguished himself in 1370, during the war with Husayn, when he was only sixteen [3]. Later, in Farghana, he often fought with the Moghuls. There is a great deal about his personal prowess in the Anonym of Iskandar, who is biased with regard to Omar-Shaykh and his sons, as Ḥāfiz-i-Abrū and Sharaf al-din are with regard to Shahrukh. A fantastic story was made up about Shahrukh, which he disclaimed [4], viz. that at the age of sixteen he had taken part in 1393 in the battle with Mansūr, ruler of Fars, and had personally brought Mansūr's head to his father [5].

Ibn Arabshah asserts that in Timur's army there were idolators who carried their idols with them [6], and also women who took part in the fighting [7]. Whatever the facts, the stricter Muslims regarded the Chaghatay warriors as infidels (*kāfir*), just as the Chaghatays in their turn did not recognise the Moghuls as Muslims, although Islam had officially become the dominant religion in Moghulistan since the days of the khan Tuqluq Timur. It is only in the second half of the fifteenth century, under khan Yūnus, that the Moghuls came to be included in the practice which the Muslims observed generally in their wars amongst themselves, namely that prisoners of war should not be sold into slavery [8]. In the fourteenth century the Chaghatay kingdom was

[1] *ZN*, I, 294-297. Nizam al-din Shami, f. 58b, also speaks of the challenge to single combat.

[2] *ZN*, I, 367 sq.

[3] *Ibid.*, 200.

[4] *ZVO*, XV, 221.

[5] *ZVO*, I, 612 A transitional version between the original story (*Dnevnik* I, 35 sq.) and the version of the *ZN* is the tale of Mahmūd Gītī [Kutbī?] written in 823/1420 (interpolated in the copy of the *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* by Ḥamdullāh Qazwīnī, reproduced in facsimile, GMS, XIV/1, 153)

[6] IAr, p. 237.

[7] *Ibid.*, 239.

[8] *TR*, p. 98.

not regarded as Muslim. In 1372 the Khwarazmian ruler Husayn Sufi told Timur's envoy: "Your kingdom is the region of war (i.e. an infidel state) and the duty of Muslims is to fight you" [1]. Timur's warriors wore pigtails like the heathen Mongols. When during the siege of Damascus (1400-1401) Timur's grandson Sultan-Husayn betrayed his people and went over to the besieged, they first of all cut off his pigtail and made him change his clothes [2]. Ibn Arabshah mentions one of Timur's elder daughters, Sultan-Bakht begum [3] who "was distinguished by a virile nature and disliked women" [4].

The position of Timur's wives and the other women at his court was more in keeping with Mongol customs than with the requirements of Islam. As can be seen from Clavijo's [5] and Ibn Arabshah's [6] accounts of the banquets of 1404, the queens and princesses were present unveiled. The queens and princesses gave banquets to which they invited guests. Timur built palaces with gardens in the environs of Samarqand both for his wives [7] and for other princesses [8]. During Timur's reign the women

[1] AR, f 63b

[2] IAr, p 104 sq Ibn Arabshah mistakenly calls him the son of Timur's sister On his origin and the death of his mother in 1382 see *ZN*, I, 330. [Son of Muhammad beg ibn Amīr Mūsā and of Timur's daughter Ūgebiki, see *ZN*, I, 229, 330 V.M.]

[3] On her extraction see *ZN*, I, 120 Her mother was amir Husayn's sister who died in 1366.

[4] Ibn Arabshah, p. 228, adds somewhat obscurely that the princess "was spoilt by the women of Baghdad when they came to Samarqand". Muhammad Mirkà, the husband of this princess, revolted in 1388 against Timur and was executed (*ZN*, I, 450-454). The princess then married amir Sulayman-Shah (*ibid*, 489) She died in 833/1429-30 in Nishapur (Abd al-Razzaq, f. 239b) [Ibn Arabshah definitely has in view the perversion of the women of Baghdad, cf. *Dīvān-i Khāqānī*, ed. Tehran, 691. V.M.]

[5] Clavijo, p. 257 sq.

[6] IAr, p. 163.

[7] The Paradise garden was laid out in 1378 for Tuman-agha, *ZN*, I, 292 She was born in 1366 (*ibid*, I, 140), and consequently was only twelve years old when Timur married her. The garden *Dilkushā* was made in 1397 for Tukal-khanum, *ZN*, II, 6-9. Nizam al-din, f. 122b.

[8] The Northern garden was made in 1397 for Timur's granddaugher,

naturally had no influence in affairs of the state. All they could do was sometimes to soften Timur's wrath against some prince who had fallen into disgrace [1]. Ibn Arabshah relates that one of Timur's wives, the beautiful Cholpan-Mulk, daughter of the Moghul Hajji-beg, who accompanied Timur on his campaigns in 1391 and 1393 [2] was killed by Timur after some rumours [3] had reached him (probably of her infidelity). The official history makes no mention of this event in Timur's family.

14. Timur bestowed much care upon his descendants. Their education was an affair of state in which the parents had no voice. When a happy event was about to take place, the mother was brought to court and surrounded with every care, but as soon as a boy was born, he was taken from her and his upbringing entrusted to specially designated persons who looked after his food, clothing etc.

In due course the boy was given a special tutor (*atabeg*) who taught him whatever a future ruler should know [4]. There could be no difference between the education of the heir to the throne and that of the other princes, as there was no established order of succession. Besides, the state was looked upon as the property of the entire clan and individual princes were practically independent rulers of their respective fiefs. The head of the dynasty intervened only when the feudal prince evinced rebellious tendencies or quarrelled with other princes, or when the fief was in evident danger from maladministration or from internal or external foes. Such cases had occurred already in Timur's lifetime. On the whole he was far less happy in his sons and grandsons than Chingiz-khan. Two of Timur's sons predeceased their father. The third, MIRĀNSHĀH, was born in 1366. In 1380, at

the daughter of Miranshah, *ZN*, I. 800 sq. Nizam al-din, f 121a, calls her the daughter of Shahrukh.

[1] Cf. *ZN*, II, 641, on Sarāy-Mulk-khanum and Khalil-Sultan. Even in this case the queen could act only through the intermediary of the amirs.

[2] *ZN*, I, 499 and 583

[3] IAr, p 228. According to Clavijo (p. 296) she was still alive in 1404. In any case she is still mentioned in 1403 (*ZN*, II, 505).

[4] AR, f. 18b.

the age of fourteen, he took part in an expedition against Khorasan and was immediately named ruler of that still unconquered province [1]. Through his wife, a granddaughter of Khan Özbek, Miranshah like his father, bore the title of *gūrkān* (son-in-law) [2]. During his rule in Khorasan Miranshah resided in Herat. In 1393 he was given a higher charge. By that time Timur could regard himself as the possessor of the "Kingdom of Hūlāgū", i.e. the kingdom of the Persian Mongols, and the "throne of Hulagu" was given to Miranshah. The principal towns of this fief, which included the whole of northern Persia with Baghdad and Transcaucasia [3], were Tabrīz and Sulṭāniya.

Miranshah was distinguished by personal valour but at the same time resembled his father in his cunning and cruelty. In 1389 in Samarqand he put to death the Kurts [4], the last descendants of the rulers of Herat. At a banquet he laughingly cut off the head of Pır Muhammad, the son of the prince of Herat, and later explained his act of violence by excess of drink [5]. In 1399 rumours reached Timur that Miranshah's behaviour had undergone a complete change. After a fall from his horse, when out hunting in the autumn of 1386, he began to exhibit symptoms of mental derangement and brought the country under his rule into a state of disorder, while enemies were attacking it from the outside [6]. The destructive tendencies, inherited by Miranshah from his father, took a morbid turn. According to Clavijo [7] he

[1] ZN, I, 307.

[2] This title is given to him by his contemporary Zayn al-din Qazwīnī (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, MS SPb. Univ., No 153, p. 502). In the inscription on Miranshah's ring, published by N. I. Veselovsky, the word *gūrkān* does not appear (*Kaufmansky Sbornik*, p. 229 sq). Miranshah is also given the title of *gūrkān* by Daulatshah, p. 324 (below) and 329 (below), by Faṣīḥ, f. 390a sq, by Abd al-Razzaq, f. 164b, 173b, and others.

[3] *ZN*, I, 623 sq., 784 (above).

[4] [*Kart* seems to be a better reading of the name V.M.].

[5] AR, f. 90b; cf. *ZN*, I, 468.

[6] *ZN*, II, 200 sq. Almost identical is the report in An. Isk., MS. As. Mus, f. 295a, London MS, f 310b sq. Nizam al-din in his account of the campaign of 1399 says nothing about Miranshah's actions which were the main reason for the campaign Cf. *ZVO*, XXIII, 25, note 2.

[7] Clavijo, p. 182. The official history does not mention the destruction

pulled down buildings for the sole reason that he wanted it to be said that "Mirza Miranshah did nothing himself but he ordered the finest works in the world to be demolished". About that time the "khan's daughter", wife of Miranshah [1], arrived in Samarqand with complaints about her husband and an account of his rebellious intentions [2]. Daulatshah relates this event with colourful details which are not in the other sources and can hardly be true. According to him the princess showed her father-in-law her blood-stained chemise, and Timur was so overcome by his son's behaviour that he burst into tears and for a whole week would speak to no one [3]. The official history speaks only of crude accusations made by Miranshah against his wife. She was successful in disproving them and the calumniators, "men and women", paid with their lives. The angry princess nevertheless departed to Samarqand [4].

The events of 1399 occasioned the last and most prolonged (the so-called "Seven-Years") campaign of Timur in the West. It was crowned by the victory over the Egyptian sultan and the "Roman Caesar", i.e. the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd. Miranshah and the

of buildings. AR, f 121a, speaks only of the destruction of a tall building in Sultaniya in search of treasure. Daulatshah, p 330, reports that Miranshah ordered the tomb of the great historian Rashīd al-dīn in Tabriz to be destroyed and his bones buried in the Jewish cemetery. [Rashid was of Jewish descent]. This seems the more strange as Miranshah was apparently interested in Muslim historical literature. The scholar Najm al-din translated for him the history of Ibn al-Athīr from the Arabic into Persian (Khwāndamīr, III, 177).

[1] The princess, whose name was Savin-beg, was in fact not the daughter but the granddaughter of khan Özbek. Her father was a Khwarazmian prince (*ZN*, I, 242). In 1374 she was married to Jahāngīr (*ibid*, 249 sq.) and became the mother of Muhammad-Sultan (*ibid.*, I, 271, and II, 508). She married Miranshah after Jahāngīr's death Cf. also Ibn Arabshah, p 27.

[2] *ZN*, II, 206. Quite improbable is Ibn Arabshah's report (p. 76 sq) according to which Timur, when still in India, received a letter from Miranshah in which the latter told his father that he was old and should devote the remainder of his days to prayer, leaving his kingdom to his sons and grandsons.

[3] Daulatshāh, p. 330.

[4] *ZN*, II, 205.

population of his dominions submitted to Timur without resistance The prince was deposed, his counsellors and the companions of his dissolute life executed, the sums dissipated by him refunded to the treasury [1]. Subsequent events showed Timur how precarious was the good understanding among the members of his dynasty. Before setting out on his campaign, he had entrusted Samarqand to MUHAMMAD-SULTAN, son of Jahāngīr, and Farghāna to ISKANDAR, son of 'Omar-Shaykh [2]. Already in the winter of 1399-1400 they quarrelled. In the spring of 1400 Iskandar, on the orders of Muhammad-Sultan, was brought to Samarqand and placed under guard. His *atabeg* (Iskandar was only sixteen years old) and with him twenty six *nukars* were executed [3]. In Fars in the same year Timur deposed Iskandar's brother, PĪR-MUHAMMAD, who was accused of feigning ill-health to avoid taking part in the campaign, and of preparing poisons for some unknown purpose. The prince's counsellors were executed. He himself was brought before Timur and in accordance with the verdict of the "great divan" bastinadoed [4]. The same treatment was meted out to Iskandar in 1401 [5]. At the close of 1400, during the siege of Damascus, Timur's grandson, the son of Timur's daughter, Sultan-Husayn, went over to the besieged [6] and fought against his own people. Before the surrender of the town, he was taken prisoner in a sortie and brought before Timur, who once again was content with ordering the bastinado [7]. In 1401 Muhammad-Sultan was summoned by Ti-

[1] *Ibid*, 213 sq.
[2] *Ibid*, 208 sq.
[3] *Ibid.*, 221 sq.
[4] *Ibid*, 231 and 263.
[5] *Ibid*, 383. According to Mūsawī, Timur, on the countrary, blamed Muhammad-Sultan, upheld Iskandar and ordered the restitution of all the property taken from Iskandar's companions (*Aṣaḥh al-tawārīkh*, f 411a; *Tārīkh-ı Khayrāt*, f. 297a; cf. IAN, 1915, p. 1368). An. Isk. mentions neither the dispute between Muhammad-Sultan and Iskandar, nor Muhammad-Sultan's death. This silence favours Sharaf al-din's version and disproves Musawi's.
[6] *ZN*, II, 314.
[7] *Ibid*, 323.

mur to receive the "throne of Hulagu khan" [1]. He took no active part in the campaigns of the first years of the fifteenth century, but died from illness in 1403 [2]. "Hulagu khan's throne" was bestowed in 1404 upon 'OMAR, Miranshah's second son. All Miranshah's troops and all the princes left in western Persia and Mesopotamia were subordinated to him.[3]. Of these latter, Pīr Muhammad got back Shiraz as early as 1403; his brother RUSTAM received Isfahan; Miranshah's eldest son ABŪ-BAKR received Baghdad [4]; Iskandar received Hamadān [5]. All that is said about Miranshah is that he was allowed to join his son Abū-Bakr in Baghdad at the latter's request [6]. Clavijo saw Miranshah in Sulṭāniya and the prince did not strike him as being insane (his madness is also belied by the fact that he took part in battles, as mentioned several times in the official history); he received the Castilian ambassadors with full observance of etiquette and inquired after their king's health [7]. After Muhammad Sultan's death Timur appointed to succeed him another of Jahāngīr's sons, PĪR MUHAMMAD, born in 1376, forty days after his father's death [8]. As early as 1392 the "throne of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī", i.e. the region to the southwest of the Hindūkūsh down to the Indus [9], had been bestowed upon him. Timur's actions show that he expected more from his grandsons than from his sons, — not only from the graceless eldest, but even from the youngest, SHĀHRUKH, who had never incurred his displeasure. Shahrukh

[1] *Ibid.*, 345.
[2] *Ibid.*, 492.
[3] *Ibid.*, 569.
[4] *Ibid.*, 514 sq.
[5] *Ibid.*, 564.
[6] *Ibid*, 574 sq The official history does not mention that Abū-Bakr refused to occupy his father's throne out of affection for him, and that this was the reason why Timur turned to his brother 'Omar (cf. Clavijo, p. 182 sq.).
[7] Clavijo, p 176. Further (p. 184) it is stated that Miranshah "was suffering from gout (*gotoso)*".
[8] *ZN*, I, 271. Since 1403, he was (after Miranshah) the eldest of Timur's living descendants.
[9] *Ibid.*, 558.

accompanied his father in the western campaigns as far as Palestine [1], and yet down to the end of Timur's life he remained only ruler of Khorasan, a dignity with which Miranshah had begun his career. This province — (the ruler's residence was in Herat, as in Miranshah's time) — was entrusted to him in 1397, together with Sistan and Mazandaran [2]. In 1404 Timur declined the suggestion that he should summon his son to Samarqand [3]. In Timur's last political combinations connected with his Chinese campaign and broken off by his death, the infant sons of Shahrukh took pride of place while their father was completely passed over. The sources give no explanation of Timur's relations with his son. It may be that during his father's lifetime Shahrukh manifested the same exaggerated reverence for the Sharīat and disregard of Chingiz-khan's law as during his own reign. In 1404 Timur's envoy, Fakhr al-din Ahmad Tūsī, brought to account the dignitaries of Herat and wrought havoc among them. The historian Faṣīh enumerates many khojas who were exiled to Ashpara and Saurān [4] as a result of his investigation, but there is nothing to show that these events could have affected Timur's relations with his son and the latter's tutor 'Alā al-din Alīke Kükeltash. It is remarkable that this amir, who later prided himself on Timur's confidence in entrusting Shahrukh to his care [5], should not be mentioned at all in the history of the events of Timur's reign. It is a moot question whether, during Timur's lifetime, he could have evinced the qualities which substantially distinguished him from other Chaghatay military chiefs, and some of which he imparted to his pupil [6].

[1] *Ibid*, II, 335 (*Kan'ān*, i.e. Canaan).

[2] *Ibid*, I, 804.

[3] *Ibid*, II, 601.

[4] Faṣīh, f. 392a sq. *ZN*, II, 592, very briefly refers to Ahmad Tūsī's mission and its consequences. It is remarkable that all the exiles turned back when the news of Timur's death reached them (Faṣīh, f. 393a sq.).

[5] AR, f. 254b.

[6] An. Isk. asserts that to Iskandar alone Shahrukh owed "the small dose of courage which he had", and that it was only Iskandar's influence that made him aspire to royal power, MS. As. Mus., f. 292b, London MS., f. 307b.

15. Clavijo avers that Timur twice spread the rumour of his own death to find out who was likely to revolt against his successors [1]. Oriental authors do not mention this ruse of Timur's, but he was undoubtedly interested in knowing what upheavals his death would provoke. This can be gathered, for instance, from Ibn Arabshah's report on his conversation with Iskandar Shaykhi [2], a Persian prince who alternately took part in Timur's campaigns and rebelled against him. One wonders whether Timur was more concerned with the future of the Barlas clan or of the empire he had created. Timur was the product of a society in which clannishness predominated, and with him the clan must have come first. His military successes and a closer contact with representatives of Muslim culture [3] must have gradually broadened his outlook. Neither the official history, nor the other sources contain any mention of this gradual change, or of the views he may have formed towards the end of his life on the empire and the duties of its ruler. From what is known of Timur's utterances and actions one can infer that his inner life was incomparably more complex than that of his predecessor, Chingiz-khan. Chingiz-khan's outlook was to the end that of the robber-chief, who leads his companions to victory and plunder and shares their common effort; who is prepared, when times are hard, to give them all he has, even his very clothes and horse, and, when times are fair, enjoys with them the supreme delight of riding the horses of slain enemies and of kissing their wives. This inspired savage applied his rare gift of organisation to an ever widening circle of individuals and saw no difference between the qualifications of the chief of a band of ten men and those of the ruler of an empire [4]. On the other hand, Timur was, first and foremost, a conquering monarch of boundless ambition. The following saying is ascribed to him: "the whole expanse of the inhabited part of the world is not worthy of two kings" [5]. To the

[1] Clavijo, p. 363.
[2] IAr, p. 40.
[3] There is no information on the influence educated non-Muslims might have had on him.
[4] *EI*, I, under Čingiz-Khan, with references to sources.
[5] *ZN*, I, 306.

end of his days Chingiz-khan knew no language except Mongolian. Timur too remained illiterate, but in addition to his native Turkish he spoke Persian and in this language conversed with scholars [1]. He created at his court the charge of "Story Reader" (*qiṣṣa-khwān*) [2] and from listening to these stories acquired that knowledge of history which astonished the learned historian Ibn Khaldūn [3]. He had a passion for chess and achieved a rare proficiency in this game [4]. He mastered the details of the Muslim teachings to such a degree that he could follow religious debates and take part in them [5]. All this, however, did not lead to his estrangement from the military circles out of which he had risen; on the contrary, it even contributed to his military success. He used his knowledge of history to encourage his men by examples from the past, and brought forward religious reasons to justify massacres and the plundering of conquered regions, which provided his army with a far greater booty than would have been possible under a different system of waging war. The huge military force [6] created by Timur seems to have been blindly devoted to its leader. More complicated must have been the feelings with which Timur was regarded by the cultured population of the conquered countries. Timur's domination was imposed and upheld by measures of such extreme cruelty as to impress even Clavijo, — a European of the early fifteenth century. A European of the twentieth century [7] can hardly imagine how men could be found to execute such orders of Timur as the erection

[1] IAr, p. 220, also the conversation in Aleppo and Timur's words *khub, khub* (*ibid.*, p 96 below).

[2] *Ibid*, p. 229, and Daulatshah, p. 363.

[3] IAr., pp 108, and 219.

[4] IAr., p. 219 (below) and AR, f. 18b sq.; the same players are enumerated in HAbrū, MS. Ind. Off, f. 19a-b. Clavijo, p. 267, also mentions Timur's chess-playing with the sayyids.

[5] A typical instance is the debate in Aleppo, IAr., p. 96 sq.

[6] According to IAr., p. 94 below, the number o warriors entered upon the rolls attained 800,000 The campaign against China was undertaken with an army of 200,000 men (*ZN*, II, 635 below).

[7] [Barthold's book was completed in 1915. V.M]

of a tower of two thousand live men laid one upon the other and smothered with clay and fragments of brick [1], — after the taking of Isfīzār, or the burying alive of four thousand captive soldiers, — after the taking of Sivas [2]. The mass exterminations committed in Muslim countries by the heathen Chingiz-khan pale into insignificance before these refinements of cruelty on the part of a Muslim conqueror.

Nevertheless, for the cultured population of his empire Timur was more than a mere foreign conqueror. A ruthless destroyer, he was also an enthusiastic builder. Stately buildings with magnificent gardens were erected at his command, villages and towns were restored, irrigation systems built and repaired. According to the official historian, he could not bear to see arable land lying waste [3]. This creative activity stirred the imagination of his contemporaries as much as the destructive. The names of Timur and his descendants belong to one of the great epochs in the history of Muslim architecture. The buildings erected in Samarqand during that period are Persian in style but in size far surpass their Persian models [4]. The tendency to erect buildings larger than any built before is a typical trait of Muslim architecture in post-Mongolian times [5], and that not only in the lands conquered by the Mongols, but in Egypt as well [6]. At no other time was this tendency followed with such consistency as under Timur and his descendants.

16. Timur's palaces were not fortified castles inaccessible to the population, although it is true that the Kök-Saray castle [7], built by Timur within the citadel of Samarqand, seems to have

[1] *ZN*, I, 360.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, 269. IAr., p. 88: three thousand Clavijo, p. 143.
[3] *ZN*, II, 13
[4] Remark by Fr. Sarre in *Denkmaler persischer Baukunst*, Atlas, fasc. VI, p 1.
[5] D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 273 (on the constructions of Ghāzān).
[6] Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zoubdat Kachf al-Mamâlik*, ed. Ravaisse, Publ. de l'E.L.O.V., p. 31 (on Sultan Nāṣır Hasan's madrasa).
[7] On this castle see *ZN*, II, 634

seen little of Timur within its walls for it served mainly as a treasury and state prison under both Timur and his successors [1]. Apparently Timur preferred his suburban palaces with their magnificent gardens. In the monarch's absence these pleasances were thrown open to the inhabitants of Samarqand, both rich and poor. The walls of the palaces were decorated with paintings representing Timur's victories, his sons and grandsons, his amirs and army [2]. Still more grandiose were the gardens surrounding the Takhta-Qaracha palace which gave its name to the pass between Samarqand and Shahrisabz. The palace was built in the spring of 1395. To make the garden a stream was utilised which flowed from the pass along a gorge, seven farsakhs from Samarqand [3]. To give an idea of the size of the gardens, Ibn Arabshah quotes an anecdote about a horse that had been lost there and was found only six months later [4].

Timur carried out extensive irrigation works not only in his native Mawarannahr and the neighbouring Khorasan [5], but in such distant regions as the Mughān steppe [6] and the Kābul basin [7].

He planned to make Samarqand the most imposing city in the world. To indicate this future grandeur he surrounded it with villages bearing the names of the largest cities known to him: Sultaniya, Shiraz, Baghdad, Dimishq (Damascus) and Miṣr (Cairo) [8]. On his return to Samarqand in 1396 from the "Five Years" campaign, Timur exempted the population from the payment of taxes for three years [9].

[1] Clavijo, p. 330.

[2] IAr., p. 227 sq.

[3] *ZN*, II, 12 sq. The building is also mentioned by Faṣīh, f. 390b.

[4] IAr, p. 228.

[5] On the works along the upper course of the Murghāb see my *Irrigation in Turkestan* (in Russian), p. 65.

[6] *ZN*, II, 554.

[7] *Ibid*, II, 32 and 186. Also *Texts on... Central Asia*, I, 195.

[8] IAr, p 228 The sites of Shiraz, Dimishq and Miṣr are known, cf. V. Vyatkin, *Materials*, fasc. VII, Index Sultaniya is mentioned by IAr., p. 210, in the account of the events of 1409, as a village to the north of Samarqand. AR, f. 180a, names in its stead Shiraz.

[9] *ZN*, I. 799.

The luxurious and easy life in Timur's capital was not without its effect upon the native Muslim population, and even the clergy. The Shaykh al-Islam of Samarqand, Abd al-Malik, a descendant of the author of *Hidāya,* played chess and diced and wrote poetry [1], in other words he indulged in pleasures which, if not directly proscribed by religion, were not approved either. Timur himself renounced both games when he repented on his deathbed in Otrar [2]. The population of the cultured regions, in addition to paying taxes to Timur, also took part in his campaigns. His army, besides the Chaghatays, included detachments recruited in the conquered countries. Ḥāfiẓi-Abrū, himself a Khorasanian, assures that Timur trusted the Khorasanians above all others [3], and this notwithstanding the fact that Khorasan had suffered from his conquest no less than any other region [4].

[1] IAr., p. 229. On the Shaykh al-Islam, see below under Ulugh-beg.

[2] Faṣīh, f. 393a The *ZN,* II, 654, speaks only of the renouncement of practices "forbidden and rebellious (towards Islam)".

[3] MS. Public Library, Dorn 290, f. 289a.

[4] AR, f 78b: "what storm more violent, what trial more terrible". This report undoubtedly goes back to *HA* himself.

III. ULUGH-BEG'S CHILDHOOD

17. Timur's grandson, Shahrukh's eldest son, was born on Sunday, 22 March 1394 [1] in Sultaniya, during the second [2] of Timur's great campaigns in Iran and the Near East. When engaged in such campaigns Timur often left in Sultaniya his baggage-train (*ughruq*) [3] and those of his wives who did not accompany him. Thus in 1393-4, while the *ughruq* was for eleven months detained in Sultaniya [4], a child was born to the wife of the seventeen-year old Shahrukh, GAUHAR-SHĀD AGHA. She was the daughter of a Chaghatay noble, Ghiyāth al-din Tarkhān [5] whose ancestor Qïshlïq had saved Chingïz-khan's life [6]. Ghiyāth al-din's two other daughters, had been married since 1392 to the sons of 'Omar-Shaykh [7]. Shahrukh had been married since 1388 [8], but we do not know whether Gauhar-Shād was his first wife. This princess, who was destined to play a prominent part during her husband's reign, is hardly mentioned at all in Timur's lifetime [9].

At that time military operations were proceeding in Mesopotamia. On Thursday, 16 April, the town of Mardin surrendered to Timur. On the next day a courier (*elchi*) sent by Queen

[1] Date in *ZN*, I, 679: 19 Jamādī I, 796.

[2] The Five years Campaign.

[3] [Here the author explains that the word *uqruq* (*ughruq*) "baggage-train" has a different meaning from *urdu (ordu)* "a camp". This interpretation is now universally accepted. V.M.]

[4] *ZN*, I, 630 and 689 sq.

[5] In A.H. 827/A.D. 1424 died Hasan (or Husayn)-Sūfī Tarkhān (Faṣīh, f. 417a, and AR, f. 230), brother of Gauhar-Shād agha; in *ZN*, I, 558, Husayn is mentioned in the record of the events of 1392 as Ghiyāth al-din's son.

[6] *ZN*, I, 238 below On Qïshlïq see Rashīd al-din, ed. Bérésine, *Trudï Vost Otd I.R. Archeol. Obshch*, XIII, p. 131 (translation) and p. 211 (text).

[7] *ZN*, I, 560.

[8] *Ibid.*, 460.

[9] For example, *ZN*, II, 210.

Sarāy-Mulk khanum from Sultaniya, brought the news of the happy event. To mark the occasion Timur spared the population of the conquered town and even released them from payment of the contribution that had been imposed upon them.

The new-born child received the names of Muhammad Taraghay [1], but already in Timur's time these names were superseded by the appellation ULUGH BEG, i.e. "Great Prince" [2]. The word *beg* (or incorrectly *bek*), as we have seen, was used by the Turks in Timur's kingdom in the same sense as the word *amīr* by the Persians. Timur himself was called *beg* Persian historical works contain quotations from speeches by Chaghatay military chiefs in which Timur is called *Great Amir* [3]. If this is an exact translation of a Turkish term, this last could only have been *ulugh-beg* [4]. It is still a puzzle why Shahrukh's eldest son was given a title that could have been borne only by Timur himself, and why this should have replaced his proper name from his earliest childhood.

Sharaf al-din Yazdi gives fewer details of Ulugh-beg's childhood than of his brother Ibrahim's. IBRAHIM was born in the same year (evidently of a different mother) and it was in his fief that Sharaf al-din wrote his work. The report on Ibrahim's birth [5] contains the name of his *atabeg* (tutor), appointed immediately on the prince's birth [6], and the name of his wet-nurse, the *atabeg*'s wife. There are no such details about Ulugh-beg in the history of Timur. The name of Queen SARAY-MULK KHANUM occurs in all the passages where Ulugh-beg is mentioned,

[1] Thus in Faṣīḥ, f 389a, and Khwāndamīr, III, 214 See also Sédillot p. CXXV.

[2] The term *ulugh-beg* was used in order to translate the title of the Russian Great Prince (see my article in *IAN*, 1914, p. 365).

[3] Cf. the expression *rūh-i amīr-i buzurg* ("the spirit of the Great Amir") in AR, f. 207a (story of the amir who made a petition to Ulugh-beg) and the expression *amīr-ı kabīr* constantly recurring in Mūsavi, (cf. for instance, the text in *IAN*, 1915, p. 1369).

[4] Cf. the expression *beglar ulugh* (not referring to Timur) in a Turkish author, in Rieu, *Turkish Manuscripts*, p. 270a.

[5] *ZN*, I, 709 sq.

[6] *Ibid*, 725 This amir was executed by Timur in 1395 (*ibid.*, 764).

which suggests that he was entrusted to her care in the same way as his brother Ibrahim was entrusted to the care of Queen Tuman-agha. In May 1394 the queens and the children followed Timur with the *ughruq* to Armenia and Transcaucasia where Ibrahim was born. In September they returned to Sultaniya, but some time later were again summoned to join Timur [1]. In the spring of 1395 both queens with the children were sent to Samarqand [2], where Shahrukh had been staying since the autumn of 1394 [3]. In 1396 they were all in Khūzār, meeting Timur on his return from his "Five Years' " campaign [4]. During the Indian campaign Sarāy-Mulk khanum and Ulugh-beg accompanied Timur only as far as Kabul. In August 1398 Timur sent them back to Samarqand from the neighbourhood of Kabul [5]. Ghiyāth al-din 'Ali adds that Timur parted very unwillingly with his favourite grandson and only did so because he feared the effect of the hot Indian climate on the child's health [6]. On Sunday, 30 March 1399, on the banks of the Amu-Darya, the queens and princes, among whom was the five year old Ulugh-beg, were welcoming the conqueror on his return from India [7]. During the "Seven Years' " campaign of 1399-1404 the queen and her ward were as usual with the *ughruq*.

Timur's favourite winter quarters were at Qarabagh in the present-day Elizavetpol [8] province, and here he spent the winters of 1399-1400, 1401-1402 and 1403-1404 with his *ughruq* [9]. In 1400-1401 and 1402-1403 the queens and the princes lived for a long time in Sultaniya [10]. In 1403 Ulugh-beg, Ibrahim and several other princes met Timur in Erzerum [11]. This seems to have

[1] *Ibid*, 688 sq., 728, 733 sq.
[2] *Ibid.*, 735.
[3] *Ibid.*, 726.
[4] *Ibid.*, 794.
[5] *Ibid*, II, 38 sq.
[6] *Dnevnik*, I, 52
[7] *ZN*, II, 189, *Texts*, I, 198 sq.
[8] [Now Ganja in the Soviet republic of Azarbayjan.]
[9] *ZN*, II, 215 sq., 381, 557 sq.
[10] *Ibid*, 263, 352, 399, 505.
[11] *Ibid.*, 507.

been the westernmost point that Ulugh-beg ever visited. In 1404 the queens and the princes were sent from the neighbourhood of Fīrūzkūh to Samarqand [1], shortly before Timur's return there.

To the days spent in the winter quarters at Qarabagh [2] belongs the story which Daulatshah quotes to prove Ulugh-beg's exceptional memory. At Qarabagh Ulugh-beg's playfellow was the nephew of Timur's court "Story-Reader". In 1448 this former playmate, now Shaykh 'Ārif Āzarī, dressed in darvish garb, welcomed Ulugh-beg in Khorasan. From his first words Ulugh-beg recognised him and asked him: "are you not the son of our story-reader's sister?" and began recalling with him memories of those early days [3].

To Ulugh-beg the residence in Qarabagh and other western regions were never more than early childhood memories, for from the time when he was ten years old he never had occasion to travel farther West than Astarabad. A unique experience of his childhood must have been the sumptuous banquets which were given in the neighbourhood of Samarqand in the autumn of 1404 after Timur's return. At these banquets the boy could see assembled at his grandfather's court ambassadors from Spain and China. According to Clavijo, the duties of Timur's young grandsons at the ambassadors' reception was to receive from their hands their letters of credence, carry them to Timur and lead the ambassadors up to Timur's throne [4].

18. Clavijo does not mention the fact that with the celebration of his victories Timur combined the wedding of five of his grandsons ranging in age from nine to seventeen [5]. Among them was the ten-year old Ulugh-beg. His bride was his second cousin, the daughter of Muhammad-Sultan, ÒGE-BEGÜM [6] (or

[1] *Ibid.*, 579.

[2] Daulatshah gives the wrong date A.H. 800/A.D. 1397-8. At that time Timur was in Māwarānnahr.

[3] Daulatshah, p. 363.

[4] Clavijo, p. 248 sq.

[5] On the weddings see *ZN*, II, 64 sq ; on the age of the princes, *ibid*, 734 sq.

[6] On this princess see below the report on the events after Timur's death.

Öge-biki). Her age is not indicated. Sharaf al-din gives a detailed description of the wedding festivities. He mentions a *khuṭba* [1] of Shaykh Shams al-din Muhammad ibn al-Jazarı, a Syrian scholar, who lived in Brussa in the dominions of the Ottoman Sultan Bayazıd and was taken prisoner by Timur's army in 1402 [2]. The chief cadi of Samarqand, Ṣalāḥ al-din, put the questions (on consent to the marriage) and received the brides' answers. The religious ceremony was followed by a feast according to Mongol custom, at which bowls of wine, *koumiss* [3] and other drinks were served [4] The historian asserts that the marriages were consummated on the following night, and that Timur visited the young couples in their tents [5] on the next day. This is most improblable, for subsequent events show that both Ulugh-beg and his brother Ibrahım (who was also among the newly wed princes) remained even after their marriage under the care of their queen guardians from whom they parted only after Timur's death.

Clavijo, who left Samarqand on Friday 21 November 1404 [6], says nothing about Timur's military preparations and his last campaign, although Timur set out from Samarqand only six days after the departure of the Spanish embassy, on Thursday 27 November [7]. Clavijo imagined that after his return from the "Seven Years' " campaign, Timur stayed in Samarqand until his death [8]. Before their departure the Spaniards heard from "trustworthy and well-informed" persons that Timur was lying, bereft of speech, on his death-bed. The ambassadors assumed that their departure was being hastened in order that they should remain

[1] *ZN*, I, 615

[2] *Ibıd*, 452 and 458. According to Faṣīh, f. 391b, he was taken away from Kütahıya Hee also IAr, p 229 (where by mistake *Ibn al-Zauzī)* and C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arab. Lıt*, II, 201.

[3] [*Qumıs*, fermented mare's milk]

[4] *ZN*, II, 617 The description of the feast demands a detailed study and an explanation of the terms used, some of which are not to be found in dictionaries Cf for instance, the expression *qosh-va-quru* ["the going round of the cup", V M.]

[5] *Ibid*, 624

[6] Clavıjo, p 344

[7] The date is in the ZN, II, 636 sq.; Faṣīḥ, f. 393a.

[8] Clavijo, p. 361

ignorant of Timur's death and be unable to spread the news on their way [1]. Actually Timur was putting the final touches to the long-conceived and grandiose plan of a campaign against China.

19. Two years before Timur's accession, in 1368, a revolution had broken out in China. The Mongol (Yüan) dysasty had been forced to leave China and the national Ming dynasty had occupied the throne. The capital was transferred from Peking (Khanbaliq, i.e. "the Khan's Town" of Muslim and European authors) to Nanking. A lively caravan trade was carried on between Central Asia and China. Sharaf al-din [2] describes in considerable detail the routes into China. Political relations between the Ming dynasty and Timur are reported in their respective histories, the history of the Ming dynasty being the more detailed of the two [3]. It contains an account of the arrival of Timur's embassy in China in 1387. The ambassador's name was Maulānā Ḥāfiẓ. The embassy presented a "tribute" of fifteen horses and two camels. From that time onward camels and horses were sent yearly, and in 1392 pieces of cloth were added to the usual tribute. When the embassy was leaving for Samarqand, it was joined by more than twelve hundred Muslims from among those who, under the Mongols, had settled in the province of Kan-su. In 1394 Timur sent two hundred horses to China. On this occasion for the first time a Chinese translation is given of Timur's letter to the Chinese Emperor, who "approved of its style". On another occasion (the year is not indicated) the number of horses sent by Timur were more than a thousand. The Chinese responded to these presents by sending precious stones and paper money (this latter must have been spent in China). The first known Chinese embassy to Timur was in 1395. The names of the ambassadors are given as An Chi-tao and Kuo-Ki [4]. The embassy travelled to Samarqand through Semirechye, and not by way of Kashghar and

[1] *Ibid.*, p 323
[2] *ZN*, II, 219 sq.
[3] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, II, 258-261.
[4] See *ibid.*, II, 278.

Farghana. This embassy did not return to China until after Timur's death.

From Timur's history we know that he did not receive the embassy until 1397, the reception taking place at his winter quarters on the banks of the Sïr-Darya. The ambassadors brought many presents, were honoured by the monarch's favours and obtained leave to withdraw (*inṣirāf*) [1]. This latter expression cannot mean that they were allowed to return, for we know from Chinese sources that the embassy was detained. In this and other passages of Timur's history the Chinese Emperor is derisively called *Tonguz-khan*, i.e. King-Pig. There are no explanations of the reasons for the use of this nickname; the one given by Clavijo is not confirmed by other sources [2]. It was dropped under Shahrukh and Ulugh-beg when relations with China became friendly once more.

The detention of the embassy was certainly an unfriendly act. Already the report on the events of 1398 refers to Timur's intention to march against China and exterminate the "idolators" [3]. Timur must have been aware of the worsening position of the Muslims in China since the Mongols had been banished and the national Ming dynasty had acceded to power. Exaggerated reports were circulated regarding the anti-Muslim attitude of the founder of the dynasty. The account which describes how at the end of 1399 Timur at his winter quarters in Qarabagh received the news of the Chinese Emperor's death [4], adds that the emperor had once, on some trifling pretext, ordered the massacre of 100,000 Muslims and had utterly eradicated Islam in his pos-

[1] *ZN*, II, 1.

[2] Clavijo, p 253. Clavijo's *Chuyscan* (*Docuscan*) is aparently a corruption of *Toquz-khan*, i e "King of Nine (kingdoms)". No other author mentions such a title. In An. Isk. the chapter on the Mongol emperors in China ends with the fantastic tale of the murder in A H 775/A D. 1373-4 of the Emperor Esen Buqa by the rebel Tüyghür, a Chinese Uyghur. The author adds (f 237b) that he will give more details under the accession of Tünghür (?) but does not keep his promise.

[3] *ZN*, II, 15. Nizam al-dın, f. 123b. *Dnevnik*, I, 45.

[4] The event happened in 1398. Cf. C. Arendt on *Mitt. des Seminars für Orient. Spr.*, IV, Ostasiat. Stud., p. 164.

sessions [1]. Clavijo [2] and the Chinese sources suggest that the tribute demanded by the Chinese Emperor also gave cause for disputes. One cannot say whether it was Timur's intention to restore Mongol domination in China. All we know is that Timur kept up some kind of relations with the Mongol Chingizids, but the information is meagre and contradictory. A comparison of Mongol and Muslim data allows it to be established that a certain khan ÖLJEY-TEMUR, a fugitive from Mongolia, lived at Timur's court, and after Timur's death returned to his possessions where he was soon after killed by his subjects [3]. There is nothing to show, however, whether Timur intended to set up this man as Emperor of China and overthrow the Ming dynasty, and we do not even know whether the khan accompanied Timur's army on the Chinese campaign [4]. Sharaf al-din ascribes the flight to Timur's court and the subsequent return to Mongolia to an entirely different person. According to him, Öljey-Temür's successor TAYZI-OGHLAN arrived at Timur's court in Kabul in 1398; before that "he had rebelled against the qaan (Mongol khan) and fled from the Qalmuqs" [5]. In the corresponding passage, Sharaf al-din's sources mention Tayzi-oghlan's arrival but regard him only as an ambassador from China [6]. According to Sharaf al-din, Tayzi-oghlan was with Timur in Samarqand in 1404 [7] and in Otrar in the beginning of 1405 [8], but the report is silent on any part that might have been assigned to him in the Chinese campaign as also on the circumstances in which he left the Chaghatay army. In the chapter on Mongol emperors Sharaf al-din only says that Tayzi-oghlan (who had become a Muslim), after Timur's death, fled to the Qalmuqs

[1] Nizam al-din, f. 156a. The corresponding passage of the *ZN*, II, 217, contains no mention of a massacre of Muslims, but it is in AR f. 123b.
[2] Clavijo, pp. 253 and 331.
[3] *Mir Islama*, I, 68, where references to the sources are given
[4] The historical work ascribed to Ulugh-beg (on which see below) stated that after Timur's death Öljey-Temur "went to the great yurt and sat upon the throne". Quoted in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III, 18.
[5] *ZN*, II, 34.
[6] *Dnevnik*, I, 56 sq.
[7] *ZN*, II, 601.
[8] *Ibid.*, 648.

where he became khan, only to be killed a few days later.

All that is known of Timur's political plans connected with his last expedition is his intention to form two new fiefs to include all the lands to the East of Mawarannahr up to the Chinese frontier. So far Timur's conquests had been directed towards Western Asia. Only raids had been carried out against the eastern neighbours of Mawarrannahr, the Moghuls. Farghana, ruled at first by Omar-Shaykh and after him by his son Iskandar, remained a frontier province. Timur's raids into Moghulistan [1] were directed not through Farghana and Chinese Turkestan, but by a more northerly route through the province of Sir-Darya and the Semirechye. For his Chinese campaign Timur chose the same route. To that end it was decided to move the frontier further East and restore agriculture in the region where it had fallen into decay during the disorders of the fourteenth century. In the winter of 1397-1398 Timur ordered his heir, Muhammad-Sultan, to build a frontier fort on the Ashpara [2] and to restore agriculture there. Muhammad-Sultan was given an army forty thousand strong [3]. Later, another frontier fort was built still further East, on the Issik-kul [4]. Muhammad-Sultan had intended to use this frontier line in 1399 for operations against the Moghuls, but was forestalled by Iskandar who made a successful raid into Chinese Turkestan, drawing into this operation the chiefs of the detachment stationed in Ashpara. These arbitrary actions of Iskandar's [5] were partly responsible for the quarrel mentioned above. After Muhammad-Sultan's and Iskandar's departure to the West, both Farghana and Mawarannahr remained without princes for

[1] Details of these raids in my *History of the Semirechye,* [see the present series of *Four studies,* 141 sq.]

[2] Now the frontier river between the Sir-Darya province and the Semirechye. [In Southern Qazakhstan.]

[3] *ZN,* II, 12 Nizam al-din, f. 123b, where the narrative is shorter but brings out more clearly the connection between the task entrusted to the prince and the Chinese campaign. Cf. *Dnevnik,* I, 45.

[4] "The fort Issik-kul built by Timur" was visited in 1425 by Ulugh-beg at the end of his campaign

[5] *ZN,* II, 218 and 221.

some time. In 1401 KHALĪL-SULTAN [1] was sent to Samarqand and on to the "frontier of Turkestan". In 1404 before setting out from Samarqand Timur took the decision of entrusting the marches to the young sons of Shahrukh. ULUGH-BEG was given Tashkent, Sayram, Yängi (now Auliya-ata), Ashpara and the whole of Moghulistan up to the Chinese border, while IBRAHIM received Farghana with Kashghar and Khotan [2]. However, the princes remained in their grandfather's camp and did not proceed to their fiefs.

Timur knew of course that the Moghuls would not submit voluntarily to his grandsons and that his army 200,000 strong [3] would have to fight in Central Asia before invading China. It is only from the distribution of the forces that one can gather an idea of the plan of the expedition. The main force seems to have been concentrated on the right wing which spent the winter in Shāhrukhiya, Tashkent and Sayram. The princes accompanying the army were KHALĪL-SULTAN, son of Miranshah, and AHMAD, son of Omar-Shaykh. The left wing, under the command of Sultan-Husayn, Timur's grandson by his daughter, occupied Yasï (*alias* Turkestan on the Sïr-Darya) and Sauran [4]. Timur himself, with the centre of the army, spent the greater part of December in Aqsulat and on 25 December [5] moved from thence

[1] *Ibid.*, II, 448. An. Isk. (MS. As. Mus. 566 bc, f. 297a) says that when Omar was sent to Samarqand (in 1401) Khalil-Sultan, who was there, received orders to take up the defence of the frontier with Moghulistan, but according to the *ZN*, II, 320, 346, 385 and 387, in 1401 Khalil-Sultan was taking part in the military operations in Syria and Arabian Iraq, and in 1402 in Georgia and Asia Minor (*ibid.*, 404, 424, 433). He was sent to Samarqand after the battle at Angora. The sending of Omar to Samarqand is also mentioned by Mūsawī (text in *IAN*, 1915, p. 1369). The *ZN* only permits one to infer Omar's presence in Samarqand in 1401, for the amir Timur-Khoja who was sent there with other amirs was attached to Mirza Omar's person (*ZN*, II, 380).

[2] *ZN*, II, 633. Between the words *Akhsi-kent* and *Kashghar* the word *Tarāz* is interpolated, evidently by mistake, for this town once stood on the site of Auliya-ata and is identical with Yängi. [Nowadays, Talas (Taraz) is located upstream from Jambul, former Auliya-ata.]

[3] *ZN*, II, 635 below.

[4] *Ibid.*, 636.

[5] The date is in Faṣīh, f 393a (Thursday, 21 Jamadi II).

towards Otrar which was reached on Wednesday, 12 Rajab/14 January 1405 [1]. No concentration of forces in Farghana is recorded and nothing is known of the numbers of the detachments stationed in Ashpara and on the Issik-kul.

The winter of 1404-1405 was one of the severest that Turkestan had ever known. Between December and February all the fords on the Amu-Darya and the Sir-Darya were ice-bound [2]. In spite of his age, Timur courageously endured the hardships of a winter campaign, unaware of his nearing end. When in Otrar, he received an envoy from khan Tokhtamish who had fled from the Golden Horde, and promised him that when the Chinese campaign was over he would march against the Golden Horde and give him back his throne [3]. The immediate cause of Timur's death seems to have been the immoderate use of wine which he drank to keep warm [4].

20. Timur died on Wednesday, 18 February 1405 [5], and this event determined the fate of his empire. Among the stories about KHOJA AḤRĀR, who was born in 1404 in a mountain village of Bāghustān, there is one that tells of a feast arranged by his parents in 1405, during which the news was received of Timur's death. This caused such alarm that the guests abandoned the bowls of food and fled into the mountains [6]. The story may not be historically true but it seems to reflect the state of mind of the inhabitants of Mawarannahr in those days of February and March 1405, before the dispute about the succession was settled. After Timur's death there was no such submission to the will of the departed ruler as there had been after the death of Chingiz-khan [7]. It was well-known that Timur had appointed PIR-

[1] *ZN*, II, 646 According to Faṣīḥ (*l.c.*), on Monday (sic) the 7th.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid*, II, 648.
[4] Cf. *ZVO*, VXIII, 0141 Also L. A. Zimin's article *Details of Timur's death* (in Russian), in *PTKLA*, XIX, 37 sq.
[5] On the date see *ZVO*, XXIII, 20.
[6] *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f 131b; MS. As. Mus., f. 163b, Tashk. lith., p. 234, article by V. L Vyatkin in *Turk. Vedom*, 1904, No. 147.
[7] *Turkestan*, 461.

MUHAMMAD his heir. Nevertheless, when the news came of Timur's death the heir was not recognised as sovereign, nor was money struck in his name. Each one of the feudal princes substituted his name for Timur's both in the *khuṭba* and on the coins. Shahrukh, who learnt about Timur's death on 1 March, acted in the same way [1]. Even the amirs Shāh-Malik and Shaykh Nūr al-dīn, who commanded the army stationed in Otrar, did not support Pir-Muhammad, although they had but recently promised Timur faithfully to carry out his wishes. They advised Timur's wives who were leaving for Samarqand with the young princes, to surrender the capital to Shahrukh and thus put a speedy end to the interregnum, for Pir-Muhammad's arrival from Qandahar could not be expected for some time [2]. They even intended to conceal the fact of Timur's death for some time (his body was secretly removed to Samarqand) and to continue the campaign. From Otrar the army moved five farsakhs to the East towards a village [3] where the left and right wings were due to join the centre. According to Sharaf al-dīn the amirs did not wish to return to Samarqand until they had conquered and devastated China [4]. But it is clear from Shahrukh's Anonym, — who was Sharaf al-dīn's source, — that the intention was only to achieve the immediate aim of striking a blow at the Moghuls [5] and probably of putting Shahrukh's sons in possession of the provinces assigned to them by Timur Ulugh-beg's future dominions were the first to become a field of military operations, but, for some reason, he was sent to Samarqand with Timur's wives, whereas his brother Ibrahim-Sultan remained with the army. With this prince the army set out in an easterly direction. When all the detachments had assembled Khalil-Sultan was supposed to assume the supreme command.

[1] 28 Sha'ban. Same date in H. Abru, MS. Ind Off., f. 30b, and in Faṣīh, f. 393a.

[2] *ZN*, II, 675 sq. An Sh, f. 21b Cf *ZVO*, XXIII, 21, note 1.

[3] In the *ZN*, II, 679, the village is called *Chūkhk:* in An. Sh, f 23a: *Jukalak;* it is probably the *Chilik* of Russian maps. Jūlak lies much farther from Otrar and in a different direction.

[4] *ZN*, II, 674.

[5] An Sh., f. 20b. Cf. *ZVO*, XXIII, 21, note 2.

Despite the efforts to conceal the fact of Timur's death, rumours reached the left and right wings even before the arrival of couriers from Otrar. Instead of proceeding with the expedition, the princes who were in command of these two armies marshalled their forces for the imminent struggle for power. Sultan-Husayn, who could not hope to win over all the troops composing the left wing, abandoned his army and with a detachment of only 1000 men hurried to Samarqand [1]. After his departure the troops seem to have dispersed [2]. On hearing this news the chiefs of the centre decided to abandon the campaign and sent couriers with information to this effect to the queens and to Tashkent. The queens were told to stay where the news reached them and await the army. The plan was for the right wing to set out in the direction of Samarqand, linking up with the centre at a pre-arranged point [3]. The troops of the centre crossed the Sir-Darya over the ice which broke up immediately after, and came up with the queens and the young princes who were somewhat ahead. Here news was received that in Tashkent all the chiefs of the right wing, headed by Prince Ahmad, had sworn allegiance to Khalīl-Sultan.

21. KHALĪL-SULTAN, son of Miranshah, was born in 1394 and was like Muhammad-Sultan the son of a "khan's daughter", and like Ulugh-beg, a ward of Sarāy-Mulk khanum [4]. He had shown his mettle in 1399 during the Indian campaign. Much was said at the time about Timur's particular affection for this grandson and the great future in store for him [5]. We have already referred to the part he took in the "Seven Years'" campaign in the West and to his mission in 1402 "to the frontier of Turkestan" [6]. In 1404 he incurred Timur's wrath by marrying without his consent the woman he loved [7]. Yet so high was Ti-

[1] *ZN*, II, 680.
[2] There is no mention of their taking any further part in the events.
[3] *Aqar* (?), *ZN*, II, 682.
[4] *ZN*, I, 381
[5] *Turkestan*, texts, I, 47 sq
[6] *ZN*, II, 320 and 346.
[7] *Ibid*, II, 640 sq

mur's opinion of this prince that he entrusted to him the command of a considerable army. After the defeat of his enemies, he gave proof of a magnanimity rare in Timur's family. Whatever Sharaf al-din may say to the contrary [1], it is extremely probable that those who gave their allegiance to Khalīl-Sultan did so out of a sincere desire to see him on the throne and not solely in order to put an end to disorder and discord.

The oath of allegiance to Khalīl-Sultan caused dissension among the chiefs of the centre and the right wing. The former accused the latter of transgressing Timur's will. The latter replied that they were prepared to submit to the late monarch's will and that the oath to Khalīl-Sultan was only temporary. In Tashkent the oath of allegiance was sworn to PIR-MUHAMMAD and the allegiance list (*'ahd-nāma*), to which Khalīl-Sultan himself apposed his signature and seal (*khatt-u-muhr*) was entrusted to a messenger. The latter was supposed to take the list to Shaykh Nūr al-dīn and Shāh-Malik and then "urgently" to carry it to Pir-Muhammad [2]. Sharaf al-din treats these actions as sheer hypocrisy, but the facts he himself quotes show that in Shāh-Malik's camp the rights of Pir-Muhammad were even less respected. The troops of the centre do not seem to have followed the example of the right wing in their swearing allegiance to Pir-Muhammad. The messenger from Tashkent was detained in Shāh-Malik's and Shaykh Nūr-al-dīn's camp, and in March was still in Bukhara [3].

These two amirs proposed to seize the capital without delay and at the same time hinder the movement of Khalīl-Sultan and his troops. The latter object was attained. To cross the Sir-Darya with his army, Khalīl chose a point above Shāhrukhiya where there was a bridge of boats. The crossing was to be made in three groups: the vanguard under the command of Amir Burunduq, the main force with Khalīl-Sultan and the rear-guard under KHUDĀYDĀD HUSAYNI, — Khalīl-Sultan's former *atabeg;* the latter for a long time had been on bad terms with his ward

[1] *Ibid.*, II, 721 sq.
[2] *Ibid*, 693
[3] *Ibid*, II, 712.

whom he often sharply criticised [1]. Acting on an understanding with Shāh-Malik and Shaykh Nūr al-dīn, Burunduq destroyed the bridge after he had crossed the river with his detachment. Khudaydad Husayni with his troops abandoned Khalīl-Sultan and marched off to Achïq-Parkant [2]. Meanwhile the former centre of Timur's army was moving unhindered towards Samarqand. From Aqsulat to the Qurchuq pass [4] the army proceeded in battle formation, the right wing with Ulugh-beg under the command of SHĀH-MALIK, the left with Ibrahim-Sultan under the command of Shaykh NŪR AL-DIN [4]. From then onward down to 1411 Shāh-Malik remained Ulugh-beg's tutor, but we do not know whether it was Timur himself who had made this choice.

Shāh-Malik and Shaykh Nūr al-din [5] did not venture to lead the army up to the walls of the capital without a preliminary parley with the chiefs in charge of the town. Shāh-Malik left the army at the pass and proceeded to Samarqand where the chiefs in command were Amir ARGHUN-SHĀH, left there by Timur, and KHOJA YŪSUF, who had brought Timur's body from Otrar. The two chiefs refused outright to admit Shāh-Malik. The answer given to him from the walls was that the town would be surrendered only after the rightful heir had ascended the throne Shāh-Malik brought back this aswer to the army which was then occupying the village of 'Aliābād [6], north of the Zarafshān. It was decided to make another attempt, and on Tuesday, 3 March [7] Shaykh Nūr al-dīn left for Samarqand. On reaching the gates he asked to be allowed to enter alone, without any followers, but this plan too was rejected. Thereupon the decision was taken to send to Samarqand only the queens and princes, but not Shahrukh's sons. Shāh-Malik and Shaykh Nūr al-din, with the princes Ulugh-beg and Ibrahim-Sultan, and with Timur's treasure, —

[1] See IAr., p. 187.
[2] *ZN*, II, 695 sq.
[3] Also mentioned in *ZN*, I, 159, and II, 690 below. In Vyatkin, *Materials*, p. 64, *Qarjaq*.
[4] *ZN*, II, 699.
[5] On subsequent events see *ZN*, II, 689 sq.
[6] On this village see Vyatkin, *Materials*, p. 64.
[7] 1 Ramadan, *ZN*, II, 691.

which, besides money and jewels, contained reserves of clothing and arms [1], — intended to proceed to Bukhara and there to entrench themselves. They did not expect any opposition because in 'Aliabad they had been joined by Rustam, brother of the governor of Bukhara and one of the chiefs of Khalīl-Sultan's faithless vanguard [2]. Bukhara was as large a city as Samarqand [3]. Sharaf al-din says that from Bukhara the amirs intended to join Pir-Muhammad [4], but it is far more probable that their desire was to get in touch with Shahrukh [5].

On Thursday, 5 March [6] the army marched out of 'Aliābād, and Ulugh-beg parted for ever with the queen, his guardian, and the other queens who were going to Samarqand. On the next day the army was already is Dabūsiya [7]. Here a messenger arrived from Samarqand, bringing apologies to the amirs and the explanation that it had been impossible to admit them into the capital before the arrival of the rightful heir, and that a similar reply would be given to Khalīl-Sultan. In their reply the amirs were obliged to declare that they entirely agreed with this procedure, but they nevertheless continued their march towards Bukhara, to which town Rustam had been sent on in advance. A few days later, while they were still some distance from Bukhara, they learnt that Khalīl-Sultan had met with no opposition on his way to Samarqand. In the village of Shiraz he was met by the dignitaries of Samarqand, and on the banks of the Zarafshān he was welcomed by Arghun-Shah who presented to him the keys of the town, of the citadel and of Timur's treasure-house [8]. The solemn entry of the new monarch into the capital took place

[1] On the treasure *ibid*, II, 703 sq.
[2] *ZN*, II, 711.
[3] An. Sh, f. 39b
[4] *ZN*, II, 700 sq.
[5] According to An. Sh f. 40a, Shāh-Malik had decided to support the prince who would reach the Amu-Darya first (Shahrukh or Pir-Muhammad).
[6] Ramadan, *ZN*, II, 702.
[7] On the location of Dabūsiya see *Turkestan*, p. 97 On the ruins see L. A Zimin, *Qal'a-yi Dabūs*, in *PTKLA*, fasc. 2.
[8] *ZN*, II, 710 sq.

somewhat later, on the day chosen by the astrologer Badr al-din, which was Wednesday, 18 March [1].

22. According to Sharaf al-din, the Samarqand chiefs had acted from the first in connivance with Khalīl-Sultan. But it is quite possible that the decision to surrender the city to this prince was actually taken under the stress of such events as the mutiny in the Tashkent army fomented by the intrigues of Shāh-Malik and Shaykh Nūr al-dīn, the attempt of these amirs to seize the capital and, having failed in this, their decision to occupy Bukhara as a stronghold in the forthcoming civil war. When Khalīl-Sultan had succeeded in restoring the bridge on the Amu-Darya and had crossed the river Burunduq, the treacherous commander of the vanguard, impressed by Shāh-Malik's set-back in Samarqand, returned to his master and was pardoned. He then once more swore allegiance to Khalil-Sultan and his example was followed by the army. It is alleged that Shah-Malik and Shaykh Nur al-din [2] were informed of this before their army had left Aliabad. Having occupied Samarqand, Khalil-Sultan, to show his respect for Timur's will, proclaimed "khan" MUHAMMAD-JAHĀNGĪR, the son of Muhammad-Sultan, Timur's heir who had predeceased him [3]. It is evident that Timur's dispositions appointing Pir-Muhammad his heir had not received the same publicity as the previous naming of Muhammad-Sultan [3]. This action of Khalil-Sultan is of interest as being the first attempt to transfer the dignity of "khan" from the family of Chingiz to that of Timur, a step which Timur himself had not ventured to take.

The keys of Timur's treasure-house which Khalil-Sultan received on the banks of the Zarafshān were of far greater value

[1] *Ibid.*, 712 (16 Ramaḍān). According to An Sh., f. 49b sq., Khalīl-Sultan set out from Tashkent in the middle of Ramaḍān and occupied Samarqand at the end of the month.

[2] *ZN*, II, 696 sq

[3] *Ibid*, 712 sq This is confirmed by the coins of Khalil-Sultan.

[4] Muhammad-Sultan's name was mentioned in the *khuṭba* as the name of the legal heir, cf *Dnevnik*, I, 123 sq. Clavijo, who personally saw Pir-Muhammad (pp 288 and 320) does not mention his appointment as heir to the throne

to him than the keys of the town itself. It was clear to contemporaries that the victor in the struggle for Timur's succession would be he who became master of the rich treasure guarded in the Samarqand citadel, for this would enable him to win over the greedy Chaghatays [1]. Khali-Sultan's resources were increased soon after the conquest of Samarqand, for the army treasure brought by Shah-Malik and Shaykh Nur al-din from Otrar to Bukhara as the property of the princes Ulugh-beg and Ibrahim-Sultan, — between whom Timur had intended to divide conquered Moghulistan, — fell into his hands. The amirs occupied Bukhara, as they had expected, without encountering any resistance [2]. It appears from Sharaf al-din's report [3] tht great importance was attached to the possession of this town where the treasure belonging to the young princes had been placed. The citadel of Bukhara had still two gates, as in the tenth century [4]. Half of the citadel with the eastern gate was occupied by Ulugh-beg and Shāh-Malik, the other half with the western gate by Ibrahim-Sultan and Shaykh Nūr al-din. The defence of the town, the walls and the towers was entrusted to Rustam, his brother Hamza and other chiefs. Measures were taken to strengthen the defences of the town and the citadel.

23. Hafizi-Abru's and Abd al-Razzaq's accounts of the treaty concluded soon after between SHAHRUKH and KHALIL-SULTAN show that the treasure of the two princes was then in Samarqand, although nothing is said as to when and how it had been brought there from Bukhara.

Shahrukh's Anonym [5] fills in this lacuna. RUSTAM, as Burunduq before him, went over to Khalil-Sultan. He armed the pop-

[1] Cf Clavijo, p. 362

[2] According to AR, f 158b, 1 Ramadan, which contradicts the dates taken by him from Sharaf al-din and quoted above. In *ZN*, II, 711, only "in Ramadan".

[3] *ZN*, II, 712.

[4] Cf *Turkestan*, II, p 102. At present there remains only the western gate

[5] An Sh., f 45a sq. Previously, f. 42b sq. he speaks of dissensions between Shah-Malik and Shaykh Nur al-din on such questions, as whether

ulace and made a surprise attack on the citadel, where Shaykh Nur al-din was alone with the two princes, Shah-Malik having left on that day for Khorasan to urge Shahrukh to hasten his arrival in Bukhara. Shaykh Nur al-din and the princes escaped alone, without any escort, leaving the citadel and the treasure to their fate. The treasure was looted by "bazaar-thieves" [1]. On their way to the Amu-Darya the fugitives came up with Shah-Malik. On reaching the river Shaykh Nur al-din with the princes set off with all speed to join Shahrukh, which they did in Andkhoy [2]. Shah-Malik remained to guard the river crossings.

These events took place in March. In April military operations began on the banks of the Amu-Darya. According to Shahrukh's Anonym [3] Khalil-Sultan had gone in Ramadan to the village of Kūcha-Malik [4] where he celebrated the end of the fast (in the first days of April). In the first ten days of Shawwal he went on to a village of the Kash (Shahrisabz) district [5], whence he dispatched to the Amu-Darya a body of 10,000 men under the command of the amirs Shams al-din, Khoja Yūsūf Mubashshir and Arghun-Shah. The object of the operation was to seize the boats captured by Shah-Malik on the Amu-Darya and to dislodge him from his positions on the crossing at Diza. But although Shah-Malik had only 500 horsemen, he managed to hold the attackers in check, and after twenty days of fruitless fighting peace negotiations were begun with Khalil-Sultan's assent [6]. The real reason for the opening of the negotiations was the presence on

the entire army should be taken to Khorasan, or part of it left in Bukhara; which of the two amirs should go to Shahrukh and which should remain to guard Bukhara, etc.

[1] F. 47b. From the subsequent narrative it is evident, however, that at least part of the loot reached Samarqand. HA, Oxf MS., f. 10b, and AR, f. 163b, make only a brief reference to Rustam's "opposition".

[2] An. Sh., f. 49a.

[3] F. 52b sq.

[4] On its location see Vyatkin, *l c.*, p 46.

[5] The village is called Jabrān (?) in the MS., f. 52.

[6] According to HAbru, Oxford MS., f. 9a, and AR, 163b, the first exchange of embassies between Khalil and Shahrukh took place before the return of Shahrukh's sons to Khorasan.

the Amu-Darya of Shahrukh in person, encamped with a far more formidable force in a village of the Shapurqan district [1]. Moreover, the course and outcome of these negotiations show that Khalil-Sultan did not regard himself as defeated. To conclude peace Shaykh Nur al-din went to Khalil-Sultan, while Shams al-din and Arghun-Shah went to Shahrukh. The historians, who are all biased in favour of Shahrukh [2], ascribe to Khalil-Sultan expressions which contain a recognition of Shahruk's suzerainty. Khalil is alleged to have said in a message to Shahrukh that, as he would certainly be giving Mawarannahr to one of his sons or brothers, he might as well give it to him, Khalil-Sultan, who was after all no stranger. Shahrukh agreed, on condition that Khalil would return all the property left in Samarqand and belonging to Shahrukh, his sons, Shah-Malik and the latter's followers [3]. The legends on the coins struck by Khalil after 1405 contain no traces of such recognition of Shahrukh's suzerainty. In any case, Shahrukh gave up the idea of military operations against Khalil-Sultan and abandoned Mawarannahr to him. Khalil could have hardly wished for more. Nor was the condition about the return of the property carried out. Shahrukh's Anonym, and the authors who quote him are silent, but the fact is reported by Faṣīḥ who was one of Shahrukh's envoys sent to recover the property. The envoys obtained nothing and there were even designs to detain them in Samarqand. They were obliged to leave secretly in the night and ride hard for another day and night. On the second day they crossed the Amu-Darya and rejoined Shahrukh [4]. Khalil's action may have been due to the fact that Shahrukh too had no intention of respecting the treaty and remained on the Amu-Darya waiting for a suitable opportunity to invade Mawarannahr. He abandoned this project only

[1] The name of the village is Dūka in HAbru, Oxford MS., f 10b, in AR, f 163b, and Faṣīh, f. 393b. In the Anonym, f 55b, it is Dakka-yi Shapūrghān

[2] Including An. Sh, f. 54b.

[3] An. Sh., ff. 56a sq., HAbru, Oxf MS., f. 12b, and AR, f. 164a speak only of the property of Shahrukh's sons which was in Samarqand.

[4] Faṣīh, f. 394b.

on learning that Miranshah and Abu-Bakr were moving from Western Persia towards Khorasan to join Khalil [1].

24. During the ensuing years Shahrukh and his government relentlessly pursued their objective but the weapons they used against Khalil-Sultan were mainly diplomatic. These proved more effective than military operations. To his misfortune, the young ruler of Samarqand had inherited none of the cunning of his father and grandfather. His magnanimity bordered on *naïveté* He not only pardoned former enemies and traitors but even took them into his service and gave them military commands. In the spring of 1405 SHAYKH NUR AL-DIN came to Khalil-Sultan, with secret instructions from Shahrukh to keep a careful watch from Samarqand on the affairs of Khalil's kingdom and to exploit every opportunity to undermine his power. Once in Samarqand, he volunteered to put down the revolt of KHUDĀYDĀD and was sent north, at the head of an army. A week later, he himself rebelled and seized the town of Otrar [2], where the governor was his brother Berdi-bek, in whose house Timur had died [3]. From Otrar he kept in touch both with Shahrukh and Khudāydād.

Another revolt, independent of that of Khudāydād, broke out under the leadership of ALLĀHDĀD, chief of the garrison of Ashpara. On learning that Timur was dead and the Chinese campaign abandoned, he left the fort on 19 March [4] in agreement with his detachment. In the beginning of April, at Qulanchuq [5] he received a letter from Khalil informing him of his accession. The

[1] An Sh, f 57a. On Shahrukh's intentions see the words. "it was decided . that they should not rise from the banks of the Oxus until they had abated the honour of those whose fortune had gone into confusion".

[2] *Ibid,* f 63a sq.

[3] On Berdi-bek *ZN,* II, 646, 666 and 682.

[4] 17 Ramaḍān (IAr, p. 184).

[5] Qulanchuq of IAr, "one of the coldest places of the region" is probably the "Qulan Pass" which Muhammad-Sultan crossed on his way to Ashpara (*ZN,* II, 12). *Qulan* [Kūlān ?] was the name of the village which stood on the site now occupied by the Tartī station (see my *Turkestan,* p. 455, and the references to the sources quoted there; also *ZVO,* VIII, 15 sq, and *Report,* pp. 29-31). However, AR, f. 190a, in his account of

letter requested Allāhdād to remain in Ashpara until the arrival of a relieving force which Khalil promised to send without delay. On the other hand Khudāydād invited Allāhdād to leave Ashpara and join him. Allāhdād chose the latter course. Ashpara was abandoned as a logical consequence of the change in the plans to conquer Moghulistan. Khudaydad had already concluded peace with the Moghuls and given them back all the lands conquered by Timur [1]. The fort on the Issik-kul was abandoned from the first. Allāhdād left in Ashpara a small garrison among whom dissensions immediately broke out, and finally this fortress too was deserted. Khudaydad and Allāhdād made a combined raid across the "Hunger Steppe" as far as Jizak where they captured Timur's studs. From thence Allāhdād wished to march on Samarqand but Khudaydad held him back. Khalil asked Allāhdād to act as mediator in bringing about a reconciliation with Khudaydad. At first Allāhdād refused, showed the letter to Khudaydad and made a pact with him. Later, however, he abandoned his ally and went over to Khalil who immediately made him his chief amir. Khudaydad remained master of all the territory beyond the Sïr-Darya, in addition to Khojand and Farghana.

All this seems to have happened in April. In May Allāhdād took part in a campaign against Pir-Muhammad. Like the war against Shahrukh, this war began against Khalil-Sultan's wishes. It appears that he took no steps to extend his dominion to the West of the Amu-Darya but only defended his sovereignty in Mawarannahr. When asked by Pir-Muhammad by what right he had appropriated the heritage which Timur had bequeathed to another, Khalil answered: "the Almighty who gave Timur his power has given it to me" [2]. The Shaykh al-Islam 'Abd al-Avval

the events of 1411, places Qulan-bashi between Yangi (Talas) and Sauran (in HAbru, Oxf. MS., f 157a, the text is distorted) from which it could be inferred that "Qulan pass" was the name given to the locality between the chain of the Qara-tau and the Talas Ala-tau, on the way from Chimkant to Aulie-ata. On its severe winters see Prince Masalsky, *Turkestansky kray*, p. 757 [Kūlān is apparently different from Qulan-bashī V.M.].

[1] On the treaty see IAr., p. 190.

[2] *Mir Islama*, I, 361 This item of information is also in HAbru, MS. Ind. Off., f 60a; Oxf MS., f. 54a.

tried to persuade Pir-Muhammad to submit to God's will. He was unsuccessful but later the prince regretted not having listened to him [1]. The third pretender, SULTAN-HUSAYN, had by that time realised the hopelessness of his claims and joined Khalil-Sultan [2], who dispatched him against Pir-Muhammad at the head of an army 30,000 strong. Allāhdād, Arghun-Shah and several other amirs were among those taking part in this campaign. The army set out in May 1405 [3] and occupied Balkh. One day Sultan-Husayn assembled the amirs and had two of them immediately put to death. The others, including Allāhdād and Arghun-Shah, saved their lives by entreaties and expressions of their readiness to serve Sultan-Husayn, who now led the army against Samarqand. Khalil-Sultan marched out to meet him and defeated him on 6 July [4] near Chäkdalik (to the south of Shahrisabz). During the battle Allāhdād and Arghun-Shah again changed sides. Khalil-Sultan's army pursued the enemy as far as Balkh [5] and occupied the town. All Sultan-Husayn's belongings and his harem were captured. Sultan-Husayn sought refuge in Aliābād (a village in the province of Balkh) with SULAYMĀN-SHAH, a nephew of Timur, who at the time was ruler of Shapūrqān and Andkhoy. Khalil-Sultan does not seem to have minded this, but Pir-Muhammad insisted on the extradition of the pretender whom Khalil-Sultan had defeated. When his demand was not complied with he sent a body of 3,000 horsemen against Sulayman-Shah, who fled with Sultan-Husayn to Shahrukh in

[1] IAr., pp. 192 and 200.

[2] At the end of Ramadan he joined Shahrukh in Andkhoy but in the beginning of Shawwal (April) left him and went off to join Khalil (HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 43b sq.).

[3] The date is in IAr., p. 193 (the middle of the month Dhul-qa'da).

[4] The date is in AR, f. 169a (8 Muharram). The Oxf. MS. of HAbru, f. 45b, gives only the month of Muharram and erroneously quotes the year as 810 [Jigdalik? V.M.].

[5] For further details on this and following events see An. Sh, f. 77a sq. (the ff. are bound in wrong order: 87 should come between 77 and 78). According to the author, f. 87a-b, Sultan-Husayn had been told to treat Pir-Muhammad with every respect and as far as possible to end the matter peacefully, but not to allow him beyond the boundaries of his province and, if necessary, to offer resistance in Kunduz and Baghlān.

Herat. Shahrukh now decided that Pir-Muhammad had been right and that Sulayman-Shah should have surrendered Sultan-Husayn on the first demand. Sultan-Husayn was imprisoned and then put to death. The skin of his head, stuffed with grass, was sent to Pir-Muhammad and separate members of his body were exposed in the bazaars of Herat [1]. Sulayman-Shah was sent to the West with presents to persuade Miranshah and his son Abu-Bakr to return to their dominions, but they had already left before his arrival. Then Sulayman-Shah appropriated the presents, raised a revolt against Shahrukh and shut himself up in Kelat, declaring that his honour had been affronted by the execution of Sultan-Husayn who had placed himself under his protection [2]. Shahrukh himself had to suppress the revolt. After a prolonged struggle Sulayman-Shah fled to Samarqand [3]. Khalil-Sultan took him into his service, despite the fact that only a short while ago he had been sheltering his enemy. In the ensuing war with Pir-Muhammad and Shahrukh he even entrusted his vanguard to him.

25. After his victory over Sulayman-Shah PIR MUHAMMAD occupied Balkh [4] without meeting with any opposition from Khalil. He then entered into negotiations with Shahrukh with regard to taking common action against Mawarannahr. Shahrukh replied that he would be unable to march before the spring (of 1406) but in the meantime sent an advance force under Ulugh-beg, whom he had appointed prince of Shapūrqān and Andkhoy, under the tutelage of Shah-Malik. Shah-Malik built a bridge (of boats) over the Amu-Darya and crossed the river. 'ĪSĀ and KHIZR-KHOJA, commanders of Khalil's frontier detachments,

[1] An. Sh., f. 92b. More briefly in HAbru, Oxf. MS, ff. 45b, 47b, and AR, f. 169a-b.

[2] This motive for the revolt is given already by HA, MS. Ind Off, f. 46a, Oxf. MS., f. 50a

[3] An Sh, f. 100b. On the flight to Samarqand HAbru, Off. ME, f. 50b; AR, f 170a.

[4] An. Sh tells of the occupation of Balkh by Pir-Muhammad after relating the struggle between Khalil and Shah-Malik, but it must have taken place before as it was connected with Sulayman-Shah's flight, f. 114a

were taken prisoner [1]. Ulugh-beg sent 'Īsā to Pir-Muhammad and Khizr-Khoja to Shahrukh [2]. Shah-Malik's force reached Qarshi and Khuzār and forcibly moved the inhabitants (probably only the Chaghatays) to the southern bank of the river. News of this raid aroused fears in Samarqand, the more so as KHŪDAYDAD, who had seized Tashkent, was preparing to march on the town of Samarqand in alliance with the Moghuls.

Despite the threat from the North, Khalil-Sultan immediately marched out to meet Shah-Malik. On his way to the Amu-Darya he learnt that the expedition against Samarqand from Tashkent had been abandoned because of dissensions between Khudaydad and the Moghuls, who had returned to their country. Khalil took up his quarters in Khuzār with the bulk of his army and from thence sent Sulayman-Shah with a body of 10,000 men to the banks of the river. The latter took by surprise the guard left by Shah-Malik at the bridge and seized some of the boats, but during the battle Shah-Malik came up with the main force and the crossing remained in his hands. At Sulayman-Shah's request Khalil-Sultan led his army in person to the banks of the Amu-Darya, but he too was unable to capture the crossing. After an indecisive battle Khalil-Sultan sent envoys to Shahrukh's camp with offers of peace and presents (robes, belts, quivers, swords adorned with precious stones) for Ulugh-beg [4]. In a treaty Khalil-Sultan confirmed his duty to return the property of Shahrukh, of his sons, of Shah-Malik and of his followers which still remained in Samarqand. He then returned to Samarqand, but Shah-Malik and Ulugh-beg, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty, went off to join Pir-Muhammad which they did in the locality Kūy-i-tan [5]. It was probably on this pretext that Khalil-Sultan again evaded the clause about restoring the property. Only

[1] In more detail in An. Sh., f. 104a (f. 114 should come after f. 112; f. 113 should come between ff 117 and 118).

[2] This detail is in HAbru, MS. Ind Off., f 48b; AR, f. 170a.

[3] An. Sh., f. 106a.

[4] On the presents, *ibid*, f. 112 a.

[5] An Sh, f 114a On the location of Kūy-i-tan cf *ZN*, I, 443, on the march of Tokhtamish who "having passed Qarshi and Khūzār devastated

Ulugh-beg's young wife, who until then nad been detained in Samarqand, was returned to her husband [1].

In Pir-Muhammad's camp, Shah-Malik, on Shahrukh's orders, requested that the campaign should be postponed for another forty days in order to enable Shahrukh to come up with his army. He also advised Pir-Muhammad to open the campaign by attacking Bukhara, which would be easier to capture (Shahrukh and Shah-Malik had evidently some contacts there) and only then to march on Samarqand [2]. Contrary to this suggestion it was decided to begin the expedition at once by marching directly on Samarqand. In Pir-Muhammad's entourage it was said Shah-Malik's aim was merely to rescue Shahrukh's, Ulugh-beg's and his own property which was in Samarqand and to free his mother who was a captive in that town [3]. As the army set out in the direction of Qarshi, it may be inferred that Shah-Malik's advice was not so entirely disregarded, as the historian asserts. It is quite possible that the plan for a junction of Shahrukh's and Pir-Muhammad's armies in Bukhara fell through less because of the latter's obstinacy, than because of the swiftness of Khalil-Sultan's movements.

The battle took place after the middle of February 1406 [4] near Qarshi. According to Shahrukh's Anonym, Pir-Muhammad's army was on the brink of victory owing to Shah-Malik's valour, when the flight of several amirs [5], who betrayed Pir-Muhammad, decided the issue in favour of Khalil-Sultan. Pir-Muhammad fled to Balkh, Shah-Malik and Ulugh-beg to Khorasan. Here, on the banks of the Murghab they were met

the country up to Kūy-i tan and the bank of the Amu". Apparently Kūy-i -tan corresponds to Kūh-i-tang (name of a village and a river between Khuzār and Kālif) on present-day maps.

[1] On this see HAbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 49a; AR, f. 170a

[2] An. Sh., f. 115b sq.

[3] *Ibid.*, f. 116b.

[4] According to IAr., p. 197, on Sunday 1 Ramadan 807 (21 February); according to HAbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 51b, Oxf. MS, f. 56b, on Monday 2 Ramadan; according to An. Sh., f 117a, on the 4th.

[5] An Sh., ff. 113b and 118a (on the order of the folios see above, p. 67, note 1), quotes six names.

by Shahrukh who had started on his march to Samarqand as formerly agreed with Pir-Muhammad. The latter had fled so precipitously that his entire camp and harem fell into Khalil-Sultan's hand. All the women were chivalrously treated by Khalil-Sultan and afforded full protection [1].

After the battle Khalil-Sultan sent word to Shahrukh that he desired to remain at peace with him and had resorted to arms only because of enemy attacks in the region north of the Amu-Darya. Shahrukh replied that he too remained faithful to their treaty but that his frontiers had been violated by Khalil-Sultan's troops under the command of Sulayman-Shah and Arghun-Shah. Both rulers again sent their amirs to the banks of the Amu-Darya to restore the broken peace [2].

26. From the banks of the Murghab Shahrukh returned to Herat. On his instructions, Shah-Malik and Ulugh-beg [3] spent a month in Bādghīs. In the same year they took part in subduing the revolt of the chief amir SAYYID-KHOJA which had broken out at the end of May. After this Ulugh-beg, under Shah-Malik's tutelage, was appointed governor of "the Khorasan of 'Alī-beg and the Khorasan of 'Alī-Muayyad" [4], i.e. the northern and central districts of this province; the prince and his tutor were directed to spend the winters in Astarabad [5]. In the spring of 1407 Shahrukh made an expedition to quell the revolt of Mirza 'Omar, son of Miranshah, who, from his Mazandaran fief, had invaded Khorasan. Mirza 'Omar was defeated on 18 April [6] in

[1] HAbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 51b. Such praise of Khalil-Sultan coming from Shahrukh's court historian is worthy of note

[2] This force had raided Shapurqan and Andhoy, see HAbru, Oxf. MS, f. 56b sq., AR, f. 170b

[3] On subsequent events see HAbru, MS Ind Off., f. 52b sq ; Oxf. MS, f. 58a sq ; AR, f. 170b

[4] Expression used by Faṣīh, f. 396b sq 'Alī Muayyad was the last imām of the sarbadārs, cf. Lane Poole, *Mohammadan dynasties,* p. 211 On Ali-beg [of Murghab] see *ZN,* I, 66 sq, and above, p. 16. On his execution in 1383 see *ZN,* I, 355.

[5] HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 74b

[6] On Monday 9 Dhul-qa'da, AR, f. 174a; in HAbru, Oxf. MS., f 85b, 9 Dhul-hijja.

the neighbourhood of Jām, after which Ulugh-beg was given Mazandaran in addition to Khorasan.

From Jām he went to Tūs (during Mirza Omar's incursion he had evidently fled to his father). At the end of 1407, at Ulugh-beg's request, Shahrukh made another expedition against Mazandaran to suppress the revolt of PĪR-PĀDISHĀH, the former ruler of this province. Shah-Malik met Shahrukh's army in Mashhad, and Ulugh-beg met it at Qūchān [1].

Khalil-Sultan did not pursue Pir-Muhammad's army after its retreat beyond the Amu-Darya [2]. He preferred to deal with the foes threatening him from the North. Besides the rebels who had seized the basin of the Sir-Darya, there was also a menace from the Tatars of the GOLDEN HORDE who in the winter of 1405-6 [3] had overrun Khwarazm and in their raids reached Bukhara. When Khalil-Sultan appeared with his army on the Sir-Darya[4], Khojand and Shahrukhiya submitted voluntarily while Tashkent was reduced by famine after a prolonged siege. Khalil continued his march to the North, but at Sharapkhan was suddenly attacked in the night by Khudāydād and Shaykh Nūr al-din. Khalil's losses were so heavy that he was compelled to turn back. From what eventually followed it may be inferred that he had left no garrisons along the Sir-Darya. Shaykh Nur al-din quarrelled with Khudaydad, withdrew to Saghanaq [5] and entered into negotiations with Khalil. At his request Khalil sent him one of Timur's widows, Tuman-agha. All this did not prevent both Shaykh Nur

[1] AR, f. 176b

[2] According to IAr, p. 198, after the battle, Khalil marched on Chakdālik where he remained until the end of Ramadan Pir-Muhammad recrossed the Amu-Darya and occupied Ḥiṣār. Here he was besieged by Khalil and forced to sue for peace. This was concluded in 809/1406-7 (p. 200 sq)

[3] According to HAbru, Oxf Ms, f 191b; AR, f. 194b, gives the date as Rajab 808/December 1405 — January 1406.

[4] On further events see IAr, p. 203 sq. The time of this expedition is not definitely stated; all we learn is that it took place after the victory over Pir-Muhammad.

[5] On the name of this town (Sighnaq?) see my *Irrigation in Turkestan*, p. 149 sq.

al-din and his enemy Khudaydad from keeping in touch with Shahrukh.

Shahrukh's activities in 1407 may have hastened Khalil-Sultan's return from the northern regions. Exactly one year after the battle at Qarshi, on 22 February 1407 [1], Pir-Muhammad perished by the hand of an assassin, Pīr-'Alī-Tāz [2]. Shahrukh declared himself the avenger of the murdered prince and seized the opportunity of occupying Balkh [3]. This aroused Khalil-Sultan's suspicions and he went to Tirmidh and restored the old fortress on the banks of the river [4]. Shahrukh, for his part, restored the citadel of Balkh which had been razed on Timur's orders in 1370. Meanwhile peace negotiations went on, and once again were successfully completed. A meeting and an exchange of presents took place on the banks of the river between Allāhdād on behalf of Khalil, and Amir Mizrāb on behalf of Shahrukh, after which both rulers returned to their respective capitals.

Once again Shuhrukh was insincere in making peace. He continued to communicate with Khalil's enemies and to prepare the ground for the eventual conquest of Mawarannahr. These intrigues were favoured by the disaffection which was brewing against the young ruler in Samarqand among the troops and the population. One of the main reasons for this disaffection was the famine which had visited the country [5]. In 1407 a similar calamity befell Khorasan, but there prompt and efficacious measures seem to have been taken to assist the population [6]. Khalil-

[1] The date is in AR, f 173a; 14 Ramadan 809.

[2] According to AR, it was Pir-Muhammad who had raised Pir-'Alī Tāz from obscurity and made him amir. According to An Sh., f. 78a, Pīr-'Alī Tāz was in Sultan-Husayn's army in 1405, and it was he who urged Sultan-Husayn to betray Khalil-Sultan According to HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 10b, and AR, f 163b, Pir-'Alī Tāz immediately after Timur's death left Khalil-Sultan and came to Balkh.

[3] On this and subsequent events see HAbru, Ms. Ind. Off., f. 74b sq.; AR, f. 175b sq. On the reconstruction of the citadel of Balkh see also Faṣīh, f. 397b; IAr., p. 206.

[4] IAr, p. 295.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 207.

[6] HAbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 29b; AR, f. 173a; cf. *ZVO*, XVIII, 0142 sq.

Sultan was obliged to maintain a large army without making any conquests, and this gradually led to the exhaustion of Timur's treasure. Khalil-Sultan's favourite wife, SHĀD-MULK, was also thought to take too great a part in the administration of finances and in state affairs in general [1]. Under her patronage men of low birth were raised to the detriment of Timur's comrades-in-arms. A certain Baba-Turmish, who became an all-powerful minister [2], did not show due respect to such great lords as Allāhdād and Arghun-Shah. Timur's widows were also treated with scant respect. Shād-Mulk persuaded Khalil-Sultan to marry off the wives and concubines of the late monarch to amirs and noblemen in order to ensure their loyalty. The case of Shaykh Nur al-din and Tuman-agha, quoted above, gives the measure of such honour. But it was alleged that Khalil-Sultan went so far as to force the queens into marriage with commoners. Persian sources do not echo the more serious accusation made against Shād-Mulk by Ibn Arabshah [3] of having poisoned Sarāy-Mulk khanum and Tükāl-khanum, Timur's principal wives.

Shahrukh's continual relations with the Bukhara shaykhs must have also helped to undermine Khalil-Sultan's power. The historian of darvishism in Bukhara [4] says that MUHAMMAD-PĀRSĀ, head of the Bukhara Naqshbandis, constantly corresponded with Shahrukh "in order to arrange the affairs of the Muslims". To put an end to this commerce Khalil-Sultan suggested to the shaykh that he should go out on to the steppes to propagate Islam among the nomads. The shaykh agreed but said that he would first visit the tombs of the Bukhara saints. At that time a letter from Shahrukh to Khalil-Sultan was received in Bukhara, bidding him chose the field of battle. The shaykh had the letter read out in the cathedral mosque in Bukhara before sending it on to Samarqand. Soon after Khalil was defeated.

[1] A whole chapter in *ZN*, II, 720 sq., is devoted to these accusations against Khalil-Sultan and his wife

[2] In IAr., p. 208: *dastūr al-mamālik*. Persian sources od not mention this personage.

[3] IAr., p. 228.

[4] *Rashaḥāt*, Univ. MS., f. 38a; MS. As. Mus. a. 581*, f. 44b sq.; Tashk. lith., p. 62 sq.

In this story the only point worthy of credit seems to be the fact of Shahrukh's relations with the shaykhs of Bukhara. A decisive encounter between the armies of Khorasan and Mawarannahr was certainly expected towards the spring of 1409, but Shahrukh did not send any challenge to his rival, and even had such correspondence existed it could not have passed through Bukhara, for Shahrukh was quartered with his army in Bādghīs, and Khalil-Sultan in Shahrisabz [1].

At this time news came of renewed activity on the part of KHUDĀYDĀD who had taken the town of Uratübe. In view of the expected struggle with Shahrukh, only a small force could be dispatched to the North. Allāhdād and Arghun-Shah at the head of 3,000 men marched against Khudāydād [2]. They encountered the enemy near Jīzak but did not engage him and sent to Khalil for reinforcements. This time Khalil took the field in person with only 4,000 men. Nothing is said about the number of troops stationed in Shahrisabz or to whom the command was entrusted after Khalil-Sultan's departure.

In 'Sultaniya' (according to Ibn Arabshah) or in 'Shiraz' (according to Abd al-Razzaq) [3], Khalil was suddenly attacked by Khudaydad with a superior force and taken prisoner on 30 March 1409 [4]. Ibn Arabshah says that this coup had been prearranged between Khudāydād and Allāhdād. Immediately afterwards, Samarqand was occupied without opposition. Khudāydād, though acting in the name of Khalil, demanded submission from all the amirs. Apparently the army stationed in Shahrisabz did not submit but disbanded, so that Shahrukh encountered no resistance on his way to Samarqand.

27. SHAHRUKH set out with his army on April 7 [5] but reached the Amu-Darya only on April 22 [6]. While the troops were cros-

1 AR, f. 180a. In the Oxford MS. of HAbru this passage is missing.
2 Both AR (*l.c.*) and IAr. (p. 209 sq.) describe this expedition but only AR gives the numbers and strength of the detachments.
3 See above, p. 41, note 8.
4 The date, 13 Dhul-qa'da 811, is in AR.
5 21 Dhul- qa'da (this and the following dates in AR).
6 6 Dhul-ḥijja.

sing the river, an envoy arrived from Khudaydad with offers to send Khalil-Sultan and Shād-Mulk to Shahrukh if he would cede Mawarannahr to MUHAMMAD-JAHĀNGĪR [1]. We do not know what answer was given to the envoy. From the banks of the Amu-Darya a body of troops was sent to Ḥiṣār, while Shahrukh proceeded to Khuzār with the main army. In Kūy-i-tan Shād-Mulk was brought into his camp. In Khuzār news was received that Khudaydad had left Samarqand taking Khalil with him. Allahdad, Arghun-Shah and Baba-Turmish remained in the citadel, but the power was in the hands of 'Abd al-Avval, the Shaykh al-Islam. In obedience to him Allahdad and the others agreed to give up the fight against Shahrukh [2]. From Khuzār Shahrukh sent several amirs to Samarqand, and among them his tutor 'Alā al-dīn Alīke-Kukeltash [3]. Shahrukh himself proceeded to Jām, where he was met by the princes headed by Muhammad-Jahāngīr, and on 13 May [4] entered Samarqand. With him were Shah-Malik and Ulugh-beg. The intention was to appoint Ulugh-beg governor of Samarqand under the tutelage of Shah-Malik, but the solemn proclamation to this effect was made only at the end of the year, on the eve of Shahrukh's departure. In Samarqand Shahrukh was joined by Shaykh Nur al-din. On an understanding with Shahrukh, he had moved from Otrar to Bukhara, but was defeated there by Khudaydad (before the latter had left Samarqand) and arrived in Samarqand without any troops.

Thus the capital had passed into the hands of Shahrukh without bloodshed, as four years before it had passed into the hands of Khalil-Sultan. But on this occasion the victor was not so magnanimous. Both hostile factions [5], the queen's and the amirs', were treated with equal harshness. Allahdad and Arghun-Shah were pressed to surrender the money belonging to the treasury;

[1] Thus according to Faṣīh, f. 398b

[2] IAr., pp. 211 and 213. According to him Shād-Mulk also remained in Samarqand and was sent to Shahrukh only after Khudaydad's departure.

[3] Thus according to Faṣīh, *l.c.*, and AR, f. 180b.

[4] 27 Dhul-hijja

[5] Besides IAr., p. 213 sq., this is mentioned only by Faṣīh, f 401a.

they were tortured and finally executed. A member of the civil administration, a certain Yūnus Simnānī, was also executed. The queen SHĀD-MULK was tortured and driven with ignominy through the bazaars of the town. Baba-Turmish was cruelly tortured, and one day when he was being led in chains past a large water-tank, he threw himself into it and was drowned.

28. After the occupation of Samarqand there still remained the problem of the provinces along the Sīr-Darya, which under Khalil-Sultan had been in the hands of the rebels and in which Khudaydad had now taken refuge. He took Khalil with him to Farghana, and in Andijān, the capital of the province, had the *khuṭba* read in Khalil's name. Then he went off to seek the aid of the "Moghuls", probably by way of Tashkent, leaving his son, 'Abd al-Khāliq with Khalil-Sultan. His other son, Allāhdād, was governor of Shāhrukhiya. In vain did Shahrukh endeavour to persuade Khudaydad to submit voluntarily. Khudaydad insisted that his enemy Shaykh Nur al-din should be delivered to him bound hand and foot [1]. From what followed it is clear that Shahrukh could not have complied with this demand even had he wished to do so. Shahrukh now moved his troops towards the Sır-Darya, sending one detachment towards Shāhrukhiya[2], and another towards Khojand. He himself spent the summer in Uratübe. Ibn Arabshah [3] avers that the Moghuls manifested their respect for Khalil-Sultan by sending him presents, among which was a golden armchair. But he does not seem to have received any military aid from them for he was obliged to retire, together with 'Abd al-Khāliq, into the fortress Allā or Allā-kūh (probably in the Alay valley) where he was besieged by Shah-Malik. By the treaty which ended the siege, Shah-Malik withdrew and Khalil-Sultan, for his part, promised to join Shahrukh. Instead, he went to Otrar, whither by that time Shaykh Nur al-din had returned with Shahrukh's permission. He must have covered the distance between Farghana and Otrar with the aid of the

[1] AR, f. 181b.
[2] Shah-Malik was with this force.
[3] IAr., p. 215.

Moghuls. Khudaydad, who had also counted on their support, was killed by them and his head was sent to Khalil (according to Ibn Arabshah, *l.c.*), or to Shah-Malik (according to Abd al-Razzaq) [1]. Shah-Malik sent it to Shahrukh together with the head of Allāhdād (Khudaydad's son), the former governor of Shāhrukhiya, which suggests that Shah-Malik had occupied that town. Abd al-Khāliq remained to the end of his days ruler of the region beyond the Sïr-Darya. Shahrukh went as far as Khojand and thence proceeded to Aqsulat, when Shaykh Nur al-din, who had promised to return promptly, manifested his intention to remain in Otrar. At Uzun-ata [2], on the way from Aqsulat to Otrar, Shahrukh was joined by Khalil-Sultan. Sometime previously Shah-Malık and 'Alīke-Kūkeltash had come to Otrar to draw up a pact with him. The agreement was reached with the assistance of Shaykh Nur al-din. Khalil-Sultan proceeded to his new fief, Rayy, and his wife, Shād-Mulk, was given back to him. During their separation he had poured out his sorrow in Persian verses [3]. Khalıl-Sultan remained the feudal lord of Rayy until his death on Wednesday, 4 November 1411 [4]. Shād-Mulk did not wish to survive him and committed suicide. Khalil-Sultan, who from his early youth had acquired fame through his warlike exploits, was no "sentimental shepherd", as a European Orientalist would have us believe [5], but indeed the romantic episode of his life was out of keeping with the epoch.

29. The pact with Khalil-Sultan marked the end of the military operations of 1409. Before leaving Samarqand Shahrukh appointed[6] ULUGH-BEG governor of that town. IBRĀHĪM-SULTAN,

[1] AR, f 182a.

[2] In the account of Timur's campaign this place is mentioned as the first station after Aqsulat on the road to the Sır-Darya, cf. *ZN*, II, 646.

[3] Thus according to IAr, p. 216.

[4] The date is in HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 170b, and AR, f. 191b; Wednesday 16 Rajab 814.

[5] A. Muller, *Der Islam*, II, 315 ("sentimentaler Schafer"); Khalil-Sultan is also erroneously called the son of Omar-Shaykh.

[6] On the appointments see HAbru, MS Ind. Off., f. 113 b sq., and Oxf MS. f. 98a sq.; AR, f. 182b sq.

Shahrukh's other son, became governor of Balkh; MUHAMMAD-JAHĀNGĪR became governor of Ḥiṣār and Sali-Saray on the Amu-Darya, and Omar-Shaykh's son AHMAD became governor of Farghana. All the princes, except Ahmad, were under age and the amirs were the real rulers of their fiefs. In Samarqand the actual power was entrusted to "the greatest amir, the most just and most magnanimous noyon" Shah-Malik. Moreover, Ulugh-beg was pledged to treat the hereditary Shaykh al-Islams of Samarqand with the utmost reverence. On 24 December [1] 1409 Shahrukh returned to Herat.

30. SHAH-MALIK'S elevation irritated his rivals, Shaykh Nur al-din in Otrar, and the tutors of the young Muhammad-Jahāngīr in Ḥisār [2]. In the spring of 1410 they made a concerted attack on Shah-Malik and Ulugh-beg, and on Sunday 20 April [3] defeated them near Qïzïl-Rabat, to the West of Samarqand [4]. The broken army retreated to Qara-Tübe and into the mountains separating Samarqand from Shahrisabz. The road to the capital lay open to the victors [5]. On the very next day Shaykh Nur al-din's envoy appeared at the gates of Samarqand. On Friday, 25 April, Shaykh Nur al-din in person rode up to the Shaykhzāde (now Pāy-qabaq) gate, but the inhabitants headed by the Shaykh al-Islam refused to open the gates to him without an order from Shahrukh. The town did not surrender even later when Shaykh Nur al-din had occupied all the surrounding country and spent some days in Dilkushā, one of Timur's suburban palaces to the North of the town. Shaykh Nur al-din had the prince Muham-

[1] 16 Sha'bān, AR, f. 183a. He left Samarqand earlier in Rajab, HA, Oxf. MS., f 100b.

[2] According to Faṣīḥ, f. 401b, the chief instigator of Shaykh Nur al-din's revolt was Ḥamza, a Hisar amir HAbru, Oxf., MS., f. 128a, MS. Ind. Off., f. 134b, names in the first place among the Hisar amirs a certain Amir Mubashshir, well-known as Timur's fellow-at-arms.

[3] The date is in Fasih, f. 400b: 15 Dhul-hijja.

[4] On the location see Vyatkin, l.c., *Materials*, p. 47.

[5] On this and the following events see HAbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 133b sq.; Oxf. MS., f. 126a sq.; AR, f. 186a sq.

mad-Jahāngīr brought to his camp from Hisar [1], but even the presence of the former "khan" did not induce the inhabitants of Samarqand to surrender. With the exception of the capital, the whole country up to the Amu-Darya was now in the hands of the rebels.

Shaykh Nur al-din's governors were sent to Bukhara and Shahrisabz. Ulugh-beg was forced to withdraw to Kālif [2]. Amir Mizrāb, the governor of Tirmidh, who had formerly served Khalil-Sultan, remained faithful to Shahrukh. The troops sent by Shaykh Nur al-din to Kālif and Tirmidh failed to take these towns before the arrival of Shahrukh's army.

Shahrukh left Herat with his troops on 9 May [3] but for some reason did not reach Kālif before 20 June [4]. Here and at Tirmidh the Khorasanian army crossed the river unhindered. Ulugh-beg joined the Tirmidh force and together with Amir Mizrāb marched on Shahrisabz. Shahrukh slowly followed them with the main army. On hearing of Shahrukh's arrival Shaykh Nur al-din retreated from Samarqand. Shah-Malik immediately fell upon him but was again defeated, leaving all the arms and an enormous amount of booty in the hands of the victor. Shah-Malik fled to Samarqand but the dignitaries of the town (probably with the Shaykh al-Islam among them) reproached him so bitterly that he dared not remain and so departed, taking the dignitaries with him. Shahrukh occupied Shahrisabz and approached Samarqand. He was joined by Ahmad from Farghana who brought with him 500 horsemen. The battle with Shaykh Nur al-din and Jahāngīr began on Saturday [5] 12 July, near Qïzïl-Rabat and the small river Jām. Shahrukh in person took part in

[1] Particularly characteristic are the words ascribed to Shaykh Nur al-din by HA, Oxf. MS., f. 127b, when he summoned the prince: "I have occupied for you this country which Timur had bequeathed to you". See above, p. 59, on Khalil's actions.

[2] Down to the eighteenth century this town stood on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, see Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 75.

[3] 4 Muharram (HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 129b; AR, f. 186a).

[4] On Friday 17 Safar (AR, f 186b).

[5] The date is in HAbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 138b; Rabi' I; also in AR, f. 187a; according to HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 135b, on Saturday the 11th.

the fighting and gained a complete victory. Two days later he occupied Samarqand, but left it on 23 July [1] entrusting to Shah-Malik the task of finishing the war with Shaykh Nur al-din. On his way back he sent from Shahrisabz a body of troops, commanded by Mizrāb, against Hisār. By the beginning of August [2] Shahrukh was already back in Herat. Order was restored in Ḥiṣār without much difficulty. Muhammad-Jahāngīr ruled in Ḥiṣār till his death in 1433 [3], and in 1413 [4] he married a daughter of Shahrukh.

Shah-Malik's campaign agaist Shaykh Nur al-din dit not open until January 1411 [5]. Ulugh-beg seems to have taken no part in this campaign or in the ensuing operations in the basin of the Sīr-Darya. At that time Shaykh Nur al-din was in Sauran. On Shah-Malik's approach he fled to the Moghuls without offering battle, and only his rearguard was overtaken by Shah-Malik. The latter, however, was unable to occupy the province effectively and was forced to turn back. Being sure that news of his withdrawal would bring Shaykh Nur al-din out of Moghulistan, he entrusted to ABD AL-KHĀLIQ, governor of the province bordering on Moghulistan, the task of barring his way. This task the latter successfully carried out and he could have even taken Shaykh Nur al-din prisoner, had he not preferred to let him return to Moghulistan: he was unwilling unduly to strengthen Shah-Malik by destroying his enemy for him, as this would have run counter to his own interest. This fact clearly shows the disregard in which the power of the dynasty was held.

Abd al-Khāliq died in the same year and was replaced by

[1] 20 Rabī' I according to AR, f. 187a. HA, Oxf. MS., f. 137a, Thursday (?) the 27th.

[2] In the beginning of Rabī' II, i.e. 3 August, AR, f. 187a. HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 138, gives only the month.

[3] 7 Dhul-qa'da 836/25 June 1433, AR, f. 242a.

[4] The marriage took place on 14 Jamādī II 816/11 September 1413, AR, 196a. In HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 203a, the date is omitted. The report on this event closes the work of HAbru in the MS. Ind. Off., ff. 181b-183a.

[5] According to HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 153b, he set out on 13 Ramadan/9 January. Cf. AR, f. 189b sq.

Shah-Malik's nominee [1]. This man does not seem to have assumed power immediately, for the Moghul khan MUHAMMAD took advantage of the interval to invade the frontier province. A force 15,000 strong, commanded by SHAH-JAHĀN [2], the khan's brother, invested Sayram and penetrated as far as Qara-Sāmān, a place in the neighbourhood of Otrar [3]. Shah-Malik sent one of his *nukars* (named Shayastan) with a detachment of 2,000 men to surprise the enemy's rear. This detachment marched from Piskant (Pskant) [4] to the Talas, probably by mountain paths, defeated the Moghuls stationed there and seized much booty, including 12,000 horses, only half of which were sent to Shah-Malik [5].

This reverse forced the Moghuls to raise the siege of Sayram and retreat, but they did not abandon the expedition. Muhammad khan took personal command of the army. He reached Qulan-bashi between Yängi [6] and Sauran. The latter name probably refers to the plateau between the mountain chains Qara-tau and Ala-tau of Talas, on the way to the steppes, north of the Alexandrovsky range [7]. There, without resorting to arms, he made a pact with Shah-Malik. They exchanged presents and the khan pledged himself not to give any assistance to Shaykh Nur al-din.

Shaykh Nur al-din left the Moghuls and made his way into Sauran [8] with only 500 horsemen. But in the town itself he found at his disposal such considerable forces that Shah-Malik, who came up after concluding the peace with the Moghuls, could not

[1] His name was Timur-Malik son of Dulday, AR, f 190a; HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 154b.

[2] Thus correctly in HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 155a; AR, f. 190a, mistakenly names here Sham'i Jahān, Muhammad khan's predecessor, cf my *Semirechye*, see Part I, 144, An Isk., MS As Mus, f. 252a, Lond MS, f 264a, places Sham'-i Jahān's death in 802/1399, which contradicts Chinese information

[3] Mentioned in *ZN*, I, 230 and 499.

[4] Thus according to HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 155b.

[5] HAbru and AR Also in Faṣīh, f. 402a.

[6] On the Talas, near Auliyā-ata, See above p.

[7] See above, p 63, note 5.

[8] In IAr., p 204, Saghanak is named instead of Sauran.

take the town by storm. He may have also been deterred by the presence in Sauran of Timur's widow. Hafizi-Abru [1] describes with epic detail how TUMAN-AGHA conversed with Shah-Malik from the top of a tower and shed tears at the mention of Timur's name; how the negotiations proceeded between Shah-Malik and Shaykh Nur al-din; how a meeting was arranged between them; how, each accompanied by two *nukars,* they met under the walls of the fort; how Shaykh Nur al-din rushed to embrace a former friend of his [2] whom he had recognised in Shah-Malik's army, and how the latter suddenly felled the unsuspecting amir and swiftly stabbed him, as had been previously agreed between him and Shah-Malik.

Thus was destroyed the last military chief in Mawarannahr who did not recognise the authority of Shahrukh and Ulugh-beg. Shah-Malik had fulfilled his task. In order to allow Ulugh-beg to enjoy the fruits thereof, it now became necessary to remove the too powerful amir from Mawarannahr. The indignation aroused by his treacherous deed under the walls of Sauran gave Shahrukh and Ulugh-beg the desired pretext.

31. By this time Ulugh-beg's relations with his tutor had become very similar to those which had once existed between Khalil-Sultan and Khudaydad. Even before the war with the Moghuls, Ulugh-beg, in Shah-Malik's absence, had complained about him to his father. Shahrukh sent to Samarqand a noble amir, Sayyid Ali Tarkhan, with instructions to look into the matter. Sayyid Ali Tarkhan came to the conclusion that Shah-Malik was a good administrator and gave Ulugh-beg sound advice, but that the prince in his pride resented this, which fact was being exploited by ill-intentioned persons [3]. During the military operations against the Moghuls Shah-Malik continued to show

[1] All this is already recorded in the Ind. Off. MS., f. 165a sq. (Oxf. MS., ff. 160a-167a; AR, ff. 190b-191b).

[2] Persian sources give his name as Hurqudaq; in IAr.: Urghudaq. In his report on Shahrukh's embassy to China AR (f. 224b, also the text in *Notices et extraits,* XIV, part I, p. 388) also uses this latter form.

[3] All this is to be found in HAbru, Ind. Off. MS., f. 161a sq. (Oxf. MS, f. 158a sq.; AR, f. 190b).

outward regard to Ulugh-beg. He sent bound prisoners to him in Samarqand, from whence they were further directed to Shahrukh who was spending the summer until June in Bādghīs. Moved by the good news from Mawarannahr, Shahrukh, who set out of Herat with his army on Wednesday 22 July [1], proceeded at first to Balkh; it was not until 10 September [2] that he crossed the Amu-Darya over a bridge (of boats). At Kashka-Darya he was met by Ulugh-beg and the dignitaries of Samarqand. In Samarqand he encamped with his army on the Kāni-gil plain near the Chopan-ata heights. Six days after Shahrukh's arrival, Shaykh Nur al-din's head was brought into the camp. Shah-Malik was immediately summoned to Samarqand where, according to Ibn Arabshah, he was received with bitter reproaches. The actual murderer was punished with the bastinado. For a long time Shahrukh could not bear the sight of either of them, although he finally forgave them both.

Apart from the indignation at Shah-Malik's treacherous behaviour, his recall is explained by the fact that the relatives of the murdered man would never have agreed to negotiate with him. After his return to Samarqand, an envoy from Shaykh-Hasan, Shaykh Nur al-din's brother, arrived there to notify his submission. At Shahrukh's request the queen Tuman-agha was sent to Samarqand. Soon after Shahrukh left Samarqand taking with him the queen and Shah-Malik. In November he was again in Herat [3]. Before his departure Ulugh-beg acted for the first time as host at a banquet in honour of his father, at which he offered him costly presents. The seventeen-year old prince had shaken off his tutor's authority and had become the fully fledged ruler of the region stretching from the Amu-Darya to Saghanak in the North-West and to Ashpara in the North-East [4].

[1] End of Rabī I (AR, f. 190a; HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 157a).
[2] 21 Jamādī I (AR, f. 190b; HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 159b).
[3] Here he received the news of Khalil-Sultan's death (see above, p. 76).
[4] Cf. the report on the embassy to China in 1420 when the ambassadors, after passing Ashpara, came to the country of the Moghuls (AR, f. 224b; also HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 384a-b).

IV. ULUGH-BEG AS RULER; EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

32. During the next thirty-six years (1411-1447), on the coins and in the *khuṭba,* current in the domains of Ulugh-beg, Shahrukh was mentioned as the sovereign [1]. Ulugh-beg travelled several times to Herat to do him homage [2], but his contemporaries did not look upon him as a mere viceroy or feudal prince. In the rock-inscription of 1425, in the Jilan-utï gorge, Ulugh-beg is called "most great Sultan, Subduer of kings of nations, Shadow of God on earth", without any reference to Shahrukh [3]. In 1427, the learned Ghiyāth al-din Jamshīd, in a mathematical treatise dedicated to Ulugh-beg, calls him: "the greatest, most just, most magnanimous, most learned Sultan, Master of the necks of nations, Master of the Arabian and non-Arabian sultans, Sultan of the East and West" etc. [4].

The unity of power in Timur's empire, which appeared impossible after its founder's death, had been gradually restored — at least in appearance — in favour of Shahrukh. The descendants of Timur's other sons had lost all importance, and some of them were even in want, as attested by a poetical work composed by one of them in 839/1435-6 and addressed to Shahrukh [5]. But in

[1] [See the Annex on the coins, p. 00].

[2] AR mentions journeys in 1414 (f. 201b), 1417 (f. 209a), 1422 (f. 224a), 1425 (f. 231a) and 1434 (f. 244b), — the first four after HAbru (Oxf. MS., ff. 247a sq., 296a sq, 379b sq., 427b sq.).

[3] P. Lerch, l.c., pp. IX and 26.

[4] MS. Public Library, Dorn 131, f. 2a.

[5] *Ta'ashshuq-nāma,* MS. Br. Mus., Add. 7914, ff. 273b-289b. Cf. Rieu, Turk. MSS., p. 289, and *IAN,* 1914, p. 880. The verse quoted there can also be interpreted grammatically as meaning that the poet calls himself the son of Miranshah ("as long as in the world there will be such a monarch as he, the son of Miranshah will be a reciter of prayers (for him)". Such an interpretation has been indicated to me by A. N. Samoylovich. The fact remains that in the *ZN,* II, 734 sq., Sīdī-Ahmad is mentioned among the sons of Omar-Shaykh, and not of Miranshah. Nevertheless AR, MS. As. Mus. 574, p. 655; 574a, f. 454a (lacuna in Univ. MS. 157), in the report on the events of 859/1455-6, refers to a Sultan-Ahmad,

contrast to his father, Shahrukh was sovereign only in name. In reality the empire was governed by his principal wife GAUHAR-SHĀD, mother of Ulugh-beg, and by his sons and dignitaries. The stability of public order and the comparative well-being of his subjects seem to have been due to the happy choice of the chief officials and the latter's long tenure of office. In the first years of his reign Shahrukh had some difficulty in finding a suitable chief amir, commander of all the military forces. The first two holders of this charge rebelled against their sovereign and were executed. But their successor, JALĀL AL-DIN FĪRŪZSHĀH, appointed in 1407, retained his office until 1442. As a fervent adherent of the Shari'at Shahrukh disregarded the exigencies of etiquette and of military art, so that his chief amir had a free hand in administering the affairs of the palace and the army [1]. He seems to have had no lieutenant in Samarqand. The *yasaul* received his orders concerning the army directly from Ulugh-beg [2] who, unlike his father, set great store by Mongol traditions [3] in court and military affairs. The civil administration of Herat was headed for nearly as long a term (from 1417, with a short interval [4], down to the end of Shahrukh's reign) by GHIYĀTH AL-DIN PĪR AHMAD KHWĀFĪ. Ulugh-beg's minister, NĀSIR AL-DIN NASRULLĀH KHWĀFĪ, who died on 20 July 1441, was probably a relative of his [5]. The historian Fasih speaks of

son of Sayyid Ahmad, son of Mirza Mīrānsāh. The poet addresses the shah and complains of his bitter fate in the conventional form of lamentations on the cruelty of his beloved. Particularly characteristic is the *ghasal* (f 276b). "O Shah, in thy time oppression, tyranny and injustice have been predestined to Sīdī Ahmad", and the verses of the concluding petition (*iltimās*) addressed to the monarch (ff. 289a-b).

[1] On the completeness of his power see AR, f. 257b.

[2] Khwāndamīr, Tehran ed, III, 219.

[3] *Tarīkh-i Rashīdī*. Engl. transl, p 70. [See Annex on coins, p. 00].

[4] According to Faṣīḥ, f. 417b sq., he was removed in 828/1425, but reinstated in 829. In 845/1441-2 the Sultan was again displeased with his minister but did not dismiss him (AR, f. 255a sq, Faṣīḥ, f. 430b).

[5] 1 Rabī' I 845, Faṣīḥ, f. 430b; in AR, f. 256b, the date of the month is missing As minister of Ulugh-beg he is also named by Khwāndamīr, Tehran, III, 214.

him as a noble man, of high birth, who treated the people with kindness [1].

There is no information as to whether the minister of Samarqand was subordinated to the minister of Herat. Judging by the accounts of the buildings erected by Ulugh-beg, of the magnificence of his court etc. the revenue of his province must have remained at his disposal and was not turned over to Herat.

It is a remarkable fact that under Ulugh-beg money was coined in the name of Shahrukh, while *yarliqs* were published in the name of the nominal Chingizid khans. Under Timur, these khans were regarded as the nominal heads of the whole empire. In all the provinces subjected to Timur, on the coins and in the *khuṭba,* his name was accompanied by the name of the khan [2]. Khalil-Sultan, as Timur's successor in Samarqand, had set up alongside himself not a Chingizid khan but one from Timur's own clan. But with the end of Khalil-Sultan's rule the khanate of Muhammad-Jahāngīr also came to an end. In Herat, under Shahrukh, there were no nominal Chingizid khans. Historians and poets often referred to Shahrukh and his sons [3] as khans, but there are no grounds for assuming that the members of the dynasty had officially appropriated this title. Had it been so, there would hardly have been any Chingizid khans in Samarqand. Under Ulugh-beg, the khans no longer took part in campaigns as in Timur's time, but were confined to the so-called "khans' enclosure" (*ḥayāṭ-i khān*) [4], which seems to have been situated on a particularly beautiful site, in the western part of the town. The historians of the Timurids do not mention these khans and their names have

[1] Cf. AR's characterisation, *l.c.*: "extremely firm, competent and trustworthy".

[2] *Dnevnik,* I, 53 sq

[3] The expression *Shāhrukh bahādur khān* constantly occurs in Fasih, e.g. ff 388b sq. 393b, also *Baysunghur bahādur khān,* ff. 390a, 421a sq.; cf. also HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 430a on the death of Suyurghatmish khan; also *ibid.,* f 292b. In the *Ta'ashshuq-nāma,* MS. Br. Mus., f. 275a: *Ulugh Sulṭān-i mu'aẓẓam Shāhrukh khān;* in Lutfi, A.-Z. Validi, 'The Chaghatay poet Lutfi' (in Russian), Kazan 1914, p. 23: *Ulugh-beg khān;* but in Sakkāki, MS. Br. Mus., Or. 2079, f. 5b: *Shāhrukh-beg.*

[4] See Vyatkin, VI, 255; *TR,* p. 72.

not been preserved. According to the Anonym of Iskandar, SULTAN-MAḤMŪD KHAN left a son Abū-Sa'īd who was alive at the time of the composition of the book [1], i.e. between 1409 and 1414, though it is not said whether he bore the title of khan. According to Muhammad-Ḥaydar, a certain SATUQ KHAN (whose extraction is not explained) was regarded as khan in Samarqand in 1428. In that year Ulugh-beg sent him to Moghulistan and proclaimed another khan in his stead [2]). In the inscription of 838/1434-5 over the principal entrance of the Shāhi-zinda, Ulugh-beg's young son 'Abd al-Azīz [3] is given the title of khan. A new Chingizid khan was proclaimed apparently for the last time in 1449, after Ulugh-beg had been deposed [4], but his name is not recorded.

Like Timur, Ulugh-beg, through his connection with the Chingizids, called himself *gūrkān* ("son-in-law"), — a title borne neither by Shahrukh, nor by any of his other sons. Ulugh-beg may have considered himself entitled to this rank already through his first marriage with a daughter of Muhammad-Sultan, a descendant, on the distaff side, of KHAN ÖZBEK. Ulugh-beg's daughter by this princess, born on Friday, 19 August 1412 [5], bore like her grandmother the title *khānzāda-begum* [6]. He could lay a still stronger claim to the title of *gūrkān* through his marriage with AQ-SULTAN KHĀNĪKA, daughter of Sultan-Mahmud khan [7]. The date of this marriage is unknown. In Hafizi-Abru's work, written not later than 1417, Ulugh-beg is already called *gūrkān* [8].

33. With the exception of his visits to Herat, Ulugh-beg did not visit any other Timurid province during his father's lifetime.

[1] MS. As. Mus., f. 252b; MS. Br. Mus., f. 263b.
[2] *TR*, p. 72.
[3] Vyatkin, IV, part IV, p. 4; VI, pp. 178 and 250.
[4] See below the account of the events of 1449.
[5] The date is already in HAbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 180a (10 Jamādī I, Year of the Dragon). The same date is in the Oxf. MS., f. 191a; AR, f. 194a.
[6] AR, f. 251a, and Fasih, ff. 404a, 411b and 427a.
[7] On the wives of Ulugh-beg see Khwāndamīr, III, 219.
[8] HAbru, MS. Ind. Off. f. 48a.

He sent auxiliary troops to Shahrukh but never took a personal part in his campaigns, even when they were undertaken near his dominions. When peace was restored in Mawarannahr, among the urgent problems arising out of the events was the restoration of the Timurid power in Khwarazm, which the Uzbeks had seized after the death of Timur. This task was accomplished at the beginning of 1413 by Shah-Malik [1] with the aid of troops sent from Mawarannahr. Owing to the feuds within the Golden Horde, Shah-Malik met with little resistance and returned to Herat in the beginning of April. Soon after he was appointed governor of Khwarazm, which office he retained till his death in 1426, when it was taken over by his son. Unlike Ulugh-beg, he often left his province to take part in Shahrukh's expeditions to the West. Ulugh-beg kept up good-neighbourly relations with his late tutor: there is some information about the return to Samarqand in March 1418 of a detachment sent to Khwarazm to aid Shah-Malik [2]. When Ulugh-beg arrived in Bukhara in November 1419, Shah-Malik sent some *nukars* to welcome him and offer him a present of gerfalcons [3].

In the autumn of 1413 war broke out between SHAHRUKH and ISKANDAR which put an end to the outward unity of the Timurid state. From Samarqand only elephants were sent on this expedition. The military detachments stationed in Mawarannahr and Khwarazm remained there to defend the frontiers [4]. Under the pretext of a conference on military measures Ulugh-beg invited prince AHMAD, the ruler of Farghana, but the latter, fearing Ulugh-beg's temper (*mizāj*) would not come. Ulugh-beg sent one of his amirs, Bāyazīd-Parvānachi, to Andijān to negotiate. It was agreed that Ahmad would send his son to Samarqand in a few days' time (probably as a hostage, for Ahmad was not yet

[1] HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 197a; AR, f. 195a.

[2] AR, f. 212b: in the beginning of Safar 821.

[3] HAbru, f. 321a. AR, f. 214a. During his stay in Herat in 1417, at the beginning of Rabi'II after 18 May, Ulugh-beg gave a feast for Muhammad-Jahāngīr and Shah-Malik who had come from Khwarazm; see HAbru, f. 296b; AR, f. 209a.

[4] AR, f 196a.

thirty and could not have a grown up son)„ but this promise was never kept. Finally Ulugh-beg invaded Farghana and Ahmad fled into the mountains leaving garrisons in the fortresses. Ulugh-beg took Akhsī and Andijān and returned home leaving his own governors in the province. After his departure Ahmad returned with an army that had been given him by the Moghuls and at Osh defeated the troops left behind by Ulugh-beg, though he could not take Andijān. The Moghuls plundered Farghana and returned to Moghulistan. Ahmad remained in Kashghar [1].

34. We do not know whether Ulugh-beg undertook the conquest of Farghana on his own initiative, or on Shahrukh's orders as part of the struggle against Omar-Shaykh's other sons. In any case, Shahrukh neither punished his son, nor assumed the responsibility for his actions. When in November 1414 Ulugh-beg came to Herat, he stood near his father's throne at the side of his brother Baysunqar (who governed Herat in his father's absence), and, says the historian, Shahrukh rejoiced at having two such sons [2]. This suggests that Shahrukh did not lay any blame on his son's operations in Farghana. Nevertheless, on 26 May 1415 [3] Shahrukh sent one of Ahmad's *nukars* (probably taken prisoner in Farghana) to Kashghar with a letter to his master explaining the events of 1414 by a misunderstanding due to his, Shahrukh's, absence. The letter also contained an invitation to the prince to come to Herat and promised him a free pardon [4]. Ahmad finally arrived in Herat in the spring of 1416 [5] leaving a governor in Kashghar. Nothing was said about giving Farghana back to him. On the contrary, he was detained in Herat on the alleged charge of seditious talk with other princes over their wine. The prince was allowed to leave for Mecca, from whence he does not seem to have returned. Some thirteen or fourteen years later Hafizi-Abru wrote about him as of one

[1] HAbru, Oxf. MS, f. 219a sq. AR, f. 198a sq., Faṣīḥ, f. 406b.
[2] HAbru, f 248b. AR, f. 201b.
[3] 16 Rabīʿ I, 818.
[4] HAbru, f. 258b. AR, f. 203a-b. Faṣīh, f. 407a sq.
[5] HAbru, f 281b. AR, f. 206a.

dead [1]. Shaykh Ali Tughā'ī whom he had left as governor of Kashghar, opened negotiations with Ulugh-beg in the same year (1416), appealing to the protection of the "spirit of the great amir", i.e. Timur. Ulugh-beg sent to KASHGHAR his own lieutenants, Siddīq and Ali. Tughā'ī handed the town over to them and came to Samarqand [2].

35. In the same year 1416 Ulugh-beg was with his army on the SIR-DARYA. On March 17 or 18 [3] he approached the river-bank opposite Shahrukhiya. At the end of the month he crossed the river and spent several days on the right bank. At that time news came from Khwarazm about the events taking place in the Golden Horde (the accession of Jabbār-Birdi, a son of Tokhtamīsh, and the defeat of Chingiz-Oghlan, formerly in Timur's service). He decided to return and on 22 April [4] he was back in Samarqand. This development suggests that the expedition had been intended against the Uzbeks.

Another expedition against this people was planned in 1419. In May of that year, [5] the Uzbek prince BORAQ, grandson of

[1] On Ahmad and his father Omar-Shaykh see HAbru, f. 281b. Both in HAbru and AR, Ahmad, for unknown reasons, is called not *mīrzā* but *amīrak* (diminutive from *amīr)*; sometimes both words *amīrak* and *mīrzā* are used jointly

[2] HAbru, f. 288b; AR, f. 207a; Faṣīh, f. 409a. The detailed account given by the Timurid historians certainly deserves more credit than that of Muhammad-Haydar, a sixteenth century author. The latter's account, founded on oral tradition, mentions neither Ahmad nor Tughā'ī and presents the entire event in a very different light. According to this account, Kashghar belonged to the Dughlat amir Sayyid Ahmad, son of Amir Khudaydad; the population led by Khoja Sharīf rose against him and handed over the town to Ulugh-beg, (*TR*, p. 61). There is also a totally fantastic story about Amir Ahmad, who is made out to be Shahrukh's descendant, and his flight to Moghulistan; about his sister and the love for her of Sayyid-Ali, Sayyid-Ahmad's son; about the arrival of all three in Andijān; about the marriage of the princess to Ulugh-beg who had killed her brother, Sayyid-Ahmad, and about Sayyid-Ali's imprisonment in Samarqand, whence he escaped a year later (*ibid*,. 62).

[3] On 18 Muharram, according to HAbru, f. 288a; 17 Muharram, according to AR, f. 207a.

[4] 23 Ṣafar, *ibid.;* AR. end of Ṣafar.

[5] End of Rabī' II.

Urus-khan with whom Timur had been at war, came to Ulugh-beg asking for help. Ulugh-beg let him go back to his country and gave him assistance against his enemies [1]. Ulugh-beg's own expedition must have been connected with this event. For the time of his absence, he left a special governor (*dārūgha*) [2] in Samarqand, which suggests that the campaign was expected to be a long one. The army left Samarqand at the end of August [3], crossed the Sir-Darya near Chīnāz on 5 September [4] and, beyond Tashkent, reached Burlaq where deserters brought the intelligence that the Uzbek army had dispersed [5]. This news was also confirmed by merchants. Ulugh-beg called off the expedition and returned to his capital on 22 October. It was rightly expected that, after the retreat of the enemy, Boraq would be able to cope with his task with the aid of the auxiliary troops that had been given him, even without the participation of the main force of Mawarannahr. In 1423 news of Boraq's success [6] came — by way of Khwarazm — to Bādghīs, where Shahrukh was at the time. Buraq had captured the ordu of the Uzbek khan Muhammad and had become the head of the major part of the Uzbek *ulus*. The news of his final victory [7] and of his accession to "the throne of his fathers and grandfathers" reached Ulugh-beg in the beginning of 1425 [8].

Ulugh-beg, who regarded Boraq as his man, was apparently satisfied that Mawarannahr was secure from the Uzbeks, for he now turned his attention towards the Moghuls. During these years, Moghulistan, like the Uzbek ulus, was suffering from in-

[1] HAbru, f. 319b; AR, f. 213b.

[2] Iskandar, son of Hindū-Buqa, AR, *l.c.*; HAbru, f. 320a.

[3] Beginning of Sha'bān.

[4] 14 Sha'bān On the details of the route followed see HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 320a; cf. *al-Muẓaffariya*, p. 26.

[5] In this passage, as in several others, the Uzbek country is called *Toqmaq*. The same term was supposed to be used in Timur's inscription, in Uyghur characters, which Prof. Satpayev found on Mt. Altin-chuq in 1937, but a better reading by A. I. Panomarev is *toqsan*. V.M.

[6] 2 Shawwal.

[7] HAbru, f. 414b. AR, f. 229b.

[8] See below, p.

ternal unrest. Ulugh-beg received reports on the events in Moghulistan from the governor of Kashghar, Siddīq. In 1416 an embassy from the new Moghul khan NAQSHI-JAHĀN (son of Sham'i-Jahān), the successor of Muhammad khan,[1] visited Ulugh-beg's court. Probably for strategic reasons, Ulugh-beg spent the winter of 1417—1418 on the Chirchik, whither he went in early November, and in the region of Khojand but he did not lead his troops any further. During this time he allowed some of the Uzbek Chingizids who where his prisoners to return to their country, and in February 1418 he himself returned to Samarqand[2]. In March, came the news of the Moghul khan's death. In April, a more detailed report was received from the governor of Kashghar on the death of Naqshi-Jahān in a battle with VAYS-KHAN. The new khan hastened to send an embassy to Ulugh-beg which arrived at the end of the year, with expressions of "devotion and goodwill". Ulugh-beg, for his part, had already in July released the Moghuls imprisoned in the citadel of Samarqand[3]. In 1419 a marriage was concluded between a son of Shahrukh, the seventeen-year-old JŪKI, and a Moghul princess[4]. In August of the same year[5] Ulugh-beg was informed that troubles had again broken out in Moghulistan: the daughter of the Dughlat amir Khudāydād had fomented a rising against the sovereign, i.e. probably against Vays-khan[6]. The revolt may have been secretly instigated or encouraged by Ulugh-beg, or his governors. In the autumn of the same year Khudaydad sent his *nukars* to Mawar-

[1] HAbru, f. 289a. AR, f. 207a.

[2] HAbru, f. 296b. AR, ff. 209a and 212a (arrival to the winter-quarters on 21 Ramadan 820, return in the beginning of Muharram 821).

[3] HAbru, f. 313 and sq. AR, f. 212b, and Fasih, f. 411a. Dates mentioned: 10 Safar, 7 Rabi' I, Jumadi II and the beginning of Shawwal.

[4] HAbru, f. 316b sq. AR, f. 213a. According to this report the princess was sent by Muhammad-khan, though the latter could not have been alive at that time. Ulugh-beg met the princess on the Sir-Darya near Chinaz (HAbru, f. 320a; AR, f. 213b).

[5] According to HAbru, f. 319b, 12 Rajab. Mirkhond, L 1291, and Univ. MS. No 291, f. 209b. the end of Rajab.

[6] In HAbru, with a probable mistake: *pādshāh-i Khitā*.

annahr and Ulugh-beg received them during his expedition against the Golden Horde [1].

In the next year (1420), a struggle for the throne took place in Moghulistan between VAYS-KHAN and another prince, SHĪR-MUHAMMAD. During these troubles a joint Timurid embassy [2], in which Ulugh-beg's envoys were also included, passed through Moghulistan on its way to China. Its safety was ensured by Khudaydad's protection [3]. Ulugh-beg may have expected some military assistance from Khudaydad, when he was projecting an expedition against Moghulistan, at the end of June of the same year [4], but this plan was abandoned at the very start, apparently even before the army had had time to cross the Sïr-Darya. The only explanation given for this change of mind is the arrival of Moghul amirs with assurances of friendship [5]. Some importance may be also attached to the fact that in the same year Ulugh-beg was obliged to send 10,000 of his troops to the West, to join in Shahrukh's expedition [6].

Furthermore, the civil war in Moghulistan, which Ulugh-beg must have hoped to exploit for his own ends, had terminated in the triumph of Vays-khan. Shortly after Ulugh-beg's return to Samarqand [7] the defeated Shir-Muhammad and several amirs, including the Sadr-Islam, arrived in that town. At first Ulugh-beg detained Shir-Muhammad in honourable captivity. In October [8] the prince attempted to escape and was brought back by

[1] HAbru, f 320a AR, f. 213b.

[2] The text and translation of AR's account of the embassy were published by Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, XIV, pp. 308-341, 387-426.

[3] HAbru, f 384b. AR, f. 224b. Cf. in Quatremère, text, p 309, translation, p. 388.

[4] In the middle of Jumādī II.

[5] One of them was Malik-Islām, on whom more anon See HAbru, f. 342a sq. AR, f. 218a.

[6] AR, f. 214b.

[7] In the same month of Rajab. See HAbru, f 343a, AR, f. 218b. On 3 Sha'ban/13 August another party of fugitives from Moghulistan arrived in Samarqand by way of Kashghar. Before Ulugh-beg's expedition, in the month of Jamādī II there had arrived Muhammad, son of Khudaydad, and Jahānshāh, son of Qamar al-din, HAbru, f. 341a, AR, f 218a.

[8] 6 Shawwal.

force [1], but in December [2] Ulugh-beg himself released him. This time Shir-Muhammad succeeded, probably with the help of Ulugh-beg's governors, in defeating Vays-khan and seizing the throne. News of this event reached Ulugh-beg in May or June 1421 [3]. In the same year there came reports of the successes of the Timurid armies in the frontier zone of Moghulistan. In December 1420, or in the beginning of January 1421, the capture of the fortress Rukh was reported from Kashghar [4]. In October 1421 [5] Abul-Layth, governor of Andijān, also sent couriers with news of military successes.

Thus Ulugh-beg succeeded in filling the thrones of the two nomad states bordering on Mawarannahr with his own nominees, Boraq and Shīr-Muhammad, but they justified his expectations as little as Tokhtamish had those of Timur. Shir-Muhammad undertook no hostile actions against Mawarannahr but neither was he inclined to recognise his dependence on Ulugh-beg [6]. This was deemed a sufficient reason to begin a war against the MOGHULS, upon some trifling pretext [7]. One of the chiefs sent by Ulugh-beg to Kashghar in 1416 was 'Ali, of the Bekrit tribe. In 1423 this man's son escaped to the Moghuls. Ulugh-beg demanded his extradition. Negotations to this effect were carried on not with the khan Shir-Muhammad, but with the dignitary bearing the title of Sadr-Islām. This latter, together with another

[1] The fugitives were overtaken by Ulugh-beg himself beyond the Sīr-Darya. The pursuit, briefly mentioned by AR, is described in detail by HAbru, f. 343b.

[2] On 13 Dhul-Ḥijja/19 December the Malik-Islām and the Sadr-Islām were allowed to return to Kashghar; on the 16th Shir-Muhammad himself was set free. HAbru, f. 344a, AR, f. 218b.

[3] 6 Jamādī I 824/9 May according to AR, f. 223b; 16 Jamādī II/18 June according to HAbru, f. 375a.

[4] At the very end of 823, HAbru, f. 344a; AR, f. 218b. The location of Rukh is unknown.

[5] 7 Shawwal/5 October according to AR, f. 223b. On the 17th, according to HAbru, f. 375b.

[6] HAbru, f. 418a. AR, f. 230a, where he speaks of the mutinous symptoms in his letters.

[7] Further details mostly according to Mirkhond.

dignitary, the Malik-Islām, owned the region bordering upon Lake ALTUN-KUL — apparently identical with Lake Balkhash [1]. In the spring of 1414 the Sadr-Islām promised to send a messenger to implore pardon for the fugitive, and if this were not granted, to submit to Ulugh-beg's demands. The promised embassy did not arrive, either in the spring or in the summer. In the autumn Ulugh-beg began preparing an expedition against Moghulistan. Prior to this he had sent amir Ḥamza to Khorasan to inform Shahrukh of his plans and obtain his consent. Shahrukh gave his approval. Ulugh-beg set out on 8 November [2] in the direction of Shahrukhiya where he intended to spend the winter. The first detachments to be drawn up were those stationed in Samarqand, Shahrisabz, Qarshi and Bukhara, to be followed by other troops from Mawarannahr. The centre of the army wintered with Ulugh-beg on the banks of the Sīr-Darya near Shahrukhiya, the right wing in Farghana and the left wing in the region of Otrar. During the winter Ulugh-beg received ambassadors from BORAQ who brought presents and the news of Boraq's accession to the throne of his ancestors. Ulugh-beg dismissed the embassy with return gifts and sent his own envoys with them.

When Shahrukh heard of the preparations for the expedition he tried to withdraw his consent. Twice his envoys approached Ulugh-beg with orders to abandon the expedition. Ulugh-beg protested saying that the preparations had been begun with Shahrukh's knowledge and consent, and that if he were to abandon the expedition — now that troops had been concentrated on the Sīr-Darya — this would be taken as a sign of weakness. When this answer was brought back to Herat by his envoys, Shahrukh did not revoke his orders, but neither did he seek to compel Ulugh-beg to obedience.

[1] In the *ZN*, I, 496, this lake is called Atrāk-kul. The name Altun-kul does not occur in other sources.

[2] In the text of all MSS 11 Dhul-Hijja, but judging by the day of the week (Wednesday) one should read "the 15th", instead of "the 11th". According to HA, f. 419a, and AR, f. 230a, the day of 15 Dhul-Hijja 827 was the date then the army went into winter-quarters near Shahrukhiya.

36. The campaign opened on Saturday 17 February 1425 [1]. Ulugh-beg's army crossed the Sir-Darya near Chinaz and reached Tashkent. Here the centre was joined by the troops of the right and left wings. The MOGHULS wintered in ASHPARA (which frontier point of the Chaghatay kingdom they must have previously occupied). From thence their vanguard moved forward to the Talas [2], under the command of Ibrahim, son of Tuqtimur. Ulugh-beg sent a body of 30,000 men in the same direction [3]. They had orders to light no fires on the way in order to take the enemy by surprise. They were then to attack, seize the booty and retreat as swiftly as they had come, so as to give the impression of an incidental raid by a small party and lull the enemy into expecting no further danger. The plan to take the Moghuls by surprise misfired. The forward detachment looted some houses on the way. One of the inmates fled to Ibrahim and warned him of the approaching Chaghatays, upon which Ibrahim hastened to retreat to the Issik-kul. Only on Saturday 3 March [4] did the Chaghatays overtake some of the Moghuls on the river Qizil-su [5]. With some booty they withdrew towards Ashpara where they decided to wait for Ulugh-beg. IBRAHIM came up to the Buam gorge [6] where the Dughlat amir Jahānshāh, — son of Qamar-Shah who had fought against Timur, — was stationed. Jahānshāh wanted to flee but Ibrahim persuaded him to march against the Chaghatays and recapture the booty. On Monday 5

[1] 27 Rabī' I 828 (HAbru, f. 419b; AR, f. 230a).

[2] In Mirkhond's text Yängī-Tarāz is at first named among the centres where Ulugh-beg was concentrating his troops, but further on it is said that the Moghul army was encamped near the same Yängī-Tarāz. The wintering of the Moghuls in Ashpara is mentioned in HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 419b, and after him by AR, Univ. MS., f. 230a.

[3] Thus HAbru, f. 420a.

[4] This should read 11 Rabi' II, instead of Rabi' I.

[5] Apparently a small river between the Aq-su and the Buam gorge. In Mirkhond's text, *Qīzīl-sūy-i Khaṣṣ-känt* is evidently opposed to the *Qīzīl-sūy-i Kul-tipà*, mentioned further down, beyond the Charīn.

[6] In the text *Baghām;* further, in the account of Ulugh-beg's return *Bughām*

March [1] the Chaghatay army was overtaken by the Moghuls near the Aq-su but the ensuing battle ended in favour of the Chaghatays. Ibrahim was killed, as well as two of his sons and a nephew, and the victors erected towers with the heads of the slain. They sent Ibrahim's head to Ulugh-beg and continued their withdrawal towards Ashpara. Jahānshāh retreated towards the Great Kabin.

Ulugh-beg, with his main force, reached Ashpara where he remained ten days preparing for further action. A body of 5,000 men, under the command of ARSLAN-KHOJA TARKHAN, was sent against Jahānshāh but the latter had fled further towards the Issik-kul. Arslan-Khoja decided to give up the pursuit, so as not to put too great a distance between himself and the main army; besides, he had learnt that an enemy detachment was making its way over a pass [2], probably from the direction of the Issik-kul, towards the plain of Abish (between the rivers Chiliq and Charin) where the Moghul khans had their head-quarters. In some inaccessible mountain region Arslan-Khoja defeated the enemy and took prisoners. On the banks of the Chiliq [3] — on to which he probably came out from the valley of the Great Kabin, — he rejoined Ulugh-beg's army [4]. Ulugh-beg seems to have met with no resistance on his way to the Chiliq. All we know of his route is that he crossed the Chu, and that the nearer road over the mountains, probably over the Qastek pass, was at the time blocked by snow. For this reason Ulugh-beg chose another route,

[1] According to Mirkhond, on 13 Rabiī' II. According to AR, f. 230h, on the 14th, which is more correct. HAbru gives here no date.

[2] The text gives only *daban*, in Mongol "pass".

[3] The text names Aq-Chiligh on the river Taklik. The Chiliq (Chiligh) river is probably meant here as the important river on the way to Charin. HAbru and AR do not mention this river. After the crossing of the Chu the following place names are mentioned the pass (*kutal*) *Abarkihtu* (thus in HAbru, f. 442a, in AR, Univ. MS., f. 230b · *Abarkitu;* also in MS. As Mus 574, pp. 492, and 574a, f. 357b); *Surkhāb* (evidently a translation of the name of the small river Qizil-su), the road of *Bīlqūn* (HAbru) or *Hīlqūn* (AR), *Abish,* the pass *Kitū* (in HA *Kithu*), the place *Arpa-Yazı* (not in HAbru; in AR everywhere *Ara-bārī*), and the *Charin* (*Chārūn*).

[4] Among the prisoners was a concubine of the late khan Khīzr-Khoja. Ulugh-beg had her sent with all due honour to Samarqand

which probably corresponded to the present-day high-road. At the council of war held at Aq-su, some advised marching at first to Altun-kul (probably Lake Balkhash) against the Sadr-Islam and the Malik-Islam, but the majority decided that it was imperative to strike with all speed at Shir-Muhammad's main force and prevent him from escaping.

The operations between the Chiliq and the Charïn are described in greater detail and several geographical names are mentioned, which unfortunately are not to be found on modern maps and cannot be exactly located. From the Chiliq, a body of 1,000 horsemen with 20 scouts was sent with orders to advance only by night without lighting fires. These precautions proved superfluous. The detachment reached Abish without making contact with the enemy and returned to Ulugh-beg. On his way to Abish, at a place called Buralghu, Ulugh-beg ordered his men to build a watch-tower of loose stones, a so-called *oba* [1]. From Abish he headed in person an attack upon a Moghul detachment which had occupied a height near Abish, but the Moghuls took to flight before the encounter and could not be overtaken. Beyond Abish, at a place called Qush-bulaq, Ulugh-beg received Amir KHUDAYDĀD's ambassador who brought assurances of submission and was dismissed with presents. Still further on, at Arpa-Yazï, Ulugh-beg learnt that JAHĀNSHĀH was on the Issik-kul, preparing to join the Sadr-Islam and the Malik-Islam. To bar his progress a force was sent on to occupy the San-Tash pass [2] on the border of Jahānshāh's dominions. At the pass the vanguard of Jahānshāh's army was overtaken; the men were killed, and the women and children carried off into captivity. From Arpa-Yazi Ulugh-beg crossed the Charïn and marched *via* Tash-buynaq and the Qïzïl-su, where he was joined by Khudaydad. Until then Ulugh-beg had suspected Khudaydad's sincerity and had even sent a body of 1,000 men to bring him by force if need

[1] The artificial mounds designated by this term exist, as we know, to this day on the steppe. *Oba* corresponds to the Mongolian *obo,* on which see A. Pozdneyev, *Mongolia* (in Russian), II, 172.

[2] In the text *Sang-tash.* On this pass and on the legend attached to it see my *Report,* p. 61.

be, but Khudaydad came of his own free will and was received with full honours [1].

At the same place Ulugh-beg learnt that the Sadr-Islam and the Malik-Islam, who were on their way to join Shir-Muhammad, were encamped on the banks of the Aq-Quyash, which corresponds to the river Ili [2]. Ulugh-beg sent against them an army of 20,000 men reinforced by the detachment, 3,000 strong, which was stationed near San-Tash. The enemy succeeded in crossing the Tekes [3] in time and the pursuit was abandoned as inexpedient. At Amir Khudaydad's request some of his people, who had greatly suffered during the preceding winter, were sent off to Samarqand with an escort of Ulugh-beg's soldiers. Khudaydad himself remained with Ulugh-beg. One of his intimates, Shaykh Darvish Kukeltash, who had waited upon Ulugh-beg in Qushbulaq, guided Ulugh-beg's vanguard of 20,000 that was sent forward on reconnaissance. They reported that the troops previously stationed on the Ili had now entrenched themselves in the mountains, and that Shir-Muhammad had concentrated his forces at Ketmen-tepe [4], leaving their families, flocks and baggage-train beyond the Tekes. The two armies clashed at Ketmen [5].

On the way, Ulugh-beg had given orders for every soldier to light five fires every night, apparently with the intention of giving the enemy an exaggerated idea of the number of his

[1] After the Charīn, HAbru and AR mention. *Ghurban-nerges* (many variants) and *Kök-tepe* (several variants), where the meeting with Khudaydad took place.

[2] Cf. the words in the text on the size of the river which was as large as the Jayhun (Amu-Darya). The name *Quyash* was borne in the thirteenth century by Chaghatay's ordu on the southern bank of the Ili. See *Four Studies,* I, 114.

[3] In the text: Täkä Cf. on this name by *Report,* 71.

[4] Evidently the mountain Ketmen, with a pass and a village of the same name; not in AR.

[5] In connection with this battle several places are mentioned and among them *Boghutu* where Ulugh-beg's army had taken up position. AR., Univ. MS., f. 230b, refers to *Toqutu* (?) as the place from which Ulugh-beg's army caught sight of the enemy.

troops. The nomads had a special term for this ruse [1].

Ulugh-beg's army waited in a fortified camp for the attack of the enemy descending from the heights [2]. On both sides, the offensive was taken by the right wing [3]. The battle ended in a rout of the Moghuls. The prisoners were brought to Ulugh-beg and at his orders were put to death. In order to weaken the Moghuls permanently it was decided to seize their flocks and property and to march on their summer headquarters called QARSHI ("the palace") [4]. The heavy baggage-train set out in this direction. Ulugh-beg with the vanguard crossed the Aq-Quyash (Ili) [5] and from thence sent part of this trooops downstream, while he himself set out towards the TEKES. He crossed several rivers without bridges and arrived "at the place Künges", i.e. evidently on the bank of the river of this name [6]. During this march several Moghul detachments which had sought safety in the mountains were annihilated. From KÜNGES Ulugh-beg marched to Qarshi and thence home.

The return of the army was probably hastened by news from the rear. JAHĀNSHĀH had taken advantage of the recall of the force guarding the San-Tash pass to cross the latter from the direction of the Issik-kul. He attacked Khudaydad's men who were on their way to Samarqand under the escort of Ulugh-beg's soldiers, routed them and seized their belongings. Ulugh-beg immediately sent troops to the West, but Jahānshāh - contrary to his

[1] *Arghaja ot* [*argha* — in Mongolian "to deceive", *ot* — in Turkish "fire" V.M.].

[2] Mirkhond does not give the date. According to HAbru and AR the battle took place on 15 Jamādī II/4 May.

[3] According to HAbru, f. 422b, each of the three divisions of Ulugh-beg's army - the centre, the right and left wings - consisted of 20,000 men.

[4] According to HAbru and AR, Ulugh-beg reached the "principal summer quarters (*yaylaq*)" of the Moghuls on the Yulduz, and entered Qarshi only on his way back from there.

[5] According to HAbru, f. 425b, the river Ili (Ila) was reached only by a detachment of 10,000 horsemen sent in pursuit of the enemy. The crossing of the river is not mentioned. AR does not give the name of the river.

[6] He must have returned to the left bank of the Ili and then crossed the Tekes. HAbru, f. 425b, speaks only of the concentration of the army after the battle fought between "Pāy-āb and Toqutu"; several variants in AR.

previous plan — returned to the Issik-kul, instead of proceeding to Abish. To cut off his retreat Ulugh-beg sent two detachments: one, under Arslan-Khoja over the Buam gorge, the other by some other route [1] probably along the southern shore of the lake.

Arslan-Khoja learnt that Jahānshāh had gone West from the Issik-kul through the Qochqar and Jumghal valleys [2], and started in pursuit. Muhammad, Iskandar and Shah-Walī, who were in command of the other detachment, knew only that the enemy had taken flight and tried to overtake him. They did not expect to be attacked and their troops did not even keep in battle-order. Jahānshāh's army fell unexpectedly upon the Chaghatays. The greater part of the detachment immediately turned tail, and only the chiefs with a handful of men offered resistance. They were saved only by the swift arrival of Arslan-Khoja who, on learning of their plight, had crossed the Jumghal and was on the spot just in time. On his approach the Moghuls fled into the mountains. The news reached Ulugh-beg while he was in the fortress of Issik-kul, built by Timur on the northern shore of the lake [3]. He immediately, despatched a relief force of 2,000 horsemen, but it proved impossible to overtake the enemy. Muhammad, Iskandar and Shah-Walī were severely reprimanded by Ulugh-beg, but later were pardoned thanks to the intercession of Khudaydad.

This account shows that on his way back from Semirechye Ulugh-beg followed the northern shore of the Issik-kul. Another route was probably taken by the body of 2,000 men [4] which had been given the task of transporting to Samarqand two large blocks of nephrite [5] that were in Qarshi and for which the

[1] Text: *gīrū* [possibly *gīrīva* "as pass"].

[2] Mirkhond seems to have taken *Yūmqāl Qochqār* for the name of *one* river.

[3] See above, pp. 51 and 64. On the town of Issik-kul cf. my *Report*, p. 60, and *Semirechye*, see *Four studies*, I.

[4] The number is given by HAbru, f. 426b, and AR.

[5] HAbru and AR mention only one stone. According to Mirkhond there were originally three blocks of nephrite, of which one had been taken away by Timur. Apart from the removal of the stones HAbru and AR give no other information on the movements of the army from Qarshi to Samarqand.

Chinese Emperors were said to have offered large sums of money. To transport these stones small carts were built and drawn alternately by horses and oxen. The historians fail to add that on reaching Samarqand the two blocks were placed on Timur's tomb [1]. Besides the inscription on these stones, another memento of Ulugh-beg's campaign is the well-known inscription in the Jılan-utı gorge to which the written sources make no reference.

Ulugh-beg returned to Samarqand on 27 June [2]. Victory celebrations lasted several days. News of the successful termination of the campaign had reached Herat somewhat earlier [3] and had allayed the anxieties of Shahrukh and his government. Shahrukh seemed completely reconciled to the fact that the expedition had been made against his orders. On 26 October [4] Ulugh-beg arrived in Herat where he was solemnly received by Shahrukh, and his victories celebrated anew. He remained in Herat till 10 November [5] and a week later was back in Samarqand.

37. Ulugh-beg's military fame was short-lived. BORAQ, whom he had helped to obtain the Uzbek khanate and who had expressed his gratitude in the previous year, now, in 1426, advanced claims on territories on the Sïr-Darya which had always belonged to the descendants of Juchi and only under Timur had been annexed by the Chaghatay state. A Chaghatay historian [6] attributes to the Uzbek khan Erzen, son of Sasï-Buqa — who lived in the fourteenth century and was buried in Saghanak — the majority of the charitable institutions (madrasas, khanaqas, mosques etc.) in Otrar, Sabran, Jand and Barchkent. The towns of Jand and Barchkent had apparently ceased to exist towards the end of the fourteenth century [7], but SAGHANAK retained its importance for

[1] Cf *ZVO*, XXIII, 31.
[2] 10 Sha'bān according to Mirkhond.
[3] Beginning of Sha'bān (about 18 June) according to AR, f. 231a.
[4] 15 Dhul-Ḥijja, HAbru, f. 427b; AR, f. 231a.
[5] 28 Dhul-Ḥijja.
[6] An. Isk, MS. As. Mus., f. 241b, Lond. MS, f. 254b. The chronology of this author is very unreliable.
[7] Barthold *Irrigation*, p. 153 sq.

several centuries. Here, about 1377, stood the camp of Boraq's grandfather Urus-khan, during his war with Tokhtamïsh whom Timur was supporting [1]. The reconstruction of the town was ascribed to Urus-khan, and for this reason Boraq now claimed it as his grandfather's heritage according both to the Shari'at and to common law. When Ulugh-beg's governor ARSLAN-KHOJA apprised him of Boraq's pretensions, he decided to march against the Uzbeks and informed Shahrukh of his intention. On this occasion Shahrukh behaved as ambiguously as in the preceding year: he forbade his son to begin the war but at the same time sent him an auxiliary force under the command of another of his sons, JŪKĪ. The latter left Herat on 15 February 1427 [2] and joined Ulugh-beg on the way to Samarqand to Saghanak. After the joining of their armies the two princes felt so strong that, — as is the case of Ulugh-beg's military chiefs on the Jumghal in 1425, — they neglected to take any precautionary measures. When Boraq's envoy came to them with excuses and requests for peace, he met with a refusal [3]. In a hilly tract near Saghanaq the princes were attacked by an Uzbek army far less numerous than their own. Taken unawares, the Chaghatays took to flight. The princes were carried away by force from the battle-field.

Ulugh-beg's defeat produced so deep an impression on the inhabitants of Mawarannahr that a party was formed in Samarqand which demanded the closing of the city gates to the defeated army. The dignitaries succeeded in restoring order so that Ulugh-beg and Jūkī could return to Samarqand. The victors did not approach the city but devastated the surrounding country. Already in March news of these events had reached Herat [4]. On Wednesday, 2 April [5], Ulugh-beg's envoy arrived. Shahrukh was at the the time recovering from a wound inflicted by a fanat-

[1] *ZN*, I, 279.

[2] 17 Rabi' II 830, AR, f. 233 b.

[3] Thus according to HAbru's continuator, f. 422a-b. AR does not mention Boraq's request.

[4] Already in the month of Jamādī I, *ibid.*, f. 441b.

[5] Jamādī II, *ibid.*, f. 443a.

ic on Friday, 21 February [1] of the same year, but he sent both troops and money to his sons. Jūkī, who was ailing, remained in Samarqand. Ulugh-beg incorporated in his army the detachments of Qandahār (Jūkī's men) and of Herat. He crossed the Sīr-Darya at Shahrukhiya and reached Tashkent where he was informed that the Uzbeks had turned back.

38. The danger was thus removed. Nevertheless, on 28 May [2] Shahrukh set out from Herat at the head of an army. His son BAYSUNQAR accompanied him. The latter's presence in the army alarmed Ulugh-beg who evidently feared that Shahrukh would take Mawarannahr from him to give it to Baysunqar. At his request, Baysunqar was sent back from Balkh, returning to Herat on 16 July [3]. At about the same time Shahrukh's army, which was moving very slowly, reached the Amu-Darya. The troops crossed the river in 200 boats and the crossing took nearly a month. Ulugh-beg who had left his army stationed in Tashkent, joined his father in Tirmidh. In reply to Shahrukh's enquiry about the state of his troops Ulugh-beg said that they had lost most of their horses, and Shahrukh ordered him to disband them. Shahrukh stayed in Samarqand until Monday, 6 October [4]. Those responsible for the military reverses were punished with the bastinado. Ulugh-beg was severely reprimanded: he was temporarily deprived of his governorship, which was restored to him only as an act of clemency.

The humiliation of 1427 seems to have left its mark on the remainder of Ulugh-beg's reign. During the next twenty years he took no personal part in military expeditions. The armies he sent won no laurels, and towards the end of that period both Moghuls and Uzbeks were able to raid his possessions with impunity.

Even the victorious campaign of 1425 seems to have brought no lasting advantages beyond the short lived military glory. The account of the campaign shows that Ulugh-beg was obliged to

[1] Rabī' II in AR; in HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 434b, by mistake Rabī' I.
[2] I Sha'bān. HAbru's continuator, f. 445b, and AR, f. 235a, both have the same date.
[3] 21 Ramadan, Faṣīḥ, f. 419, AR, *l.c.*
[4] Dhul-Ḥijja, AR, *l.c.*

return in all haste from Moghulistan, some of his detachments suffering heavy losses on the way. There was no question of leaving garrisons, building fortresses or reducing the nomads and their chiefs. The Dughlat amir KHUDAYDAD, who had submitted to Ulugh-beg, accompanied him to Mawarannahr, whence he went on the Mecca, finally to die in Medina. His descendant, the historian Muhammad-Ḥaydar seeks to justify his betrayal of Vays-khan by the argument that only thus could he have satisfied his long cherished desire to accomplish the pilgrimage, for which Vays-khan had refused his permission [1]. None of his relatives followed his example, and despite his treason, Vays-khan appointed his eldest son to succeed him as amir of the ulus of Moghulistan [2].

39. Shir-Muhammad soon died of illness [3] and the power again passed to his rival VAYS-KHAN. Ulugh-beg set up in opposition to him SATUQ-KHAN, the nominal khan of Samarqand, whom he sent with an army to Moghulistan. About 1429 [4] Vays-khan was killed on the banks of the Issik-kul in a battle with Satuq-khan, but the latter was also compelled to seek refuge in Kashghar, where he was killed during a raid on that town by Khudaydad's grandson, QARAQUL-AHMAD MIRZA. Qaraqul mirza was subsequently taken prisoner by Ulugh-beg's troops, sent to Samarqand and there put to death [5].

Muhammad-Haydar, the only historian who gives an account of these events, mentions no precise dates. The part played by Qaraqul-mirza's raid and his capture in the struggle of the Chaghatays with the Moghuls for the possession of Kashgar remains obscure. According to Muhammad Haydar [6], the struggle was between the Dughlat amir Sayyid Ali (Khudaydad's grandson), master of Aq-su, and Ulugh-beg's governors. Muhammad Shāy-

[1] *TR*, p. 69.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 71.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 72 The exact date is not given. It is only said, p. 73, that Vays-khan's eldest son Yūnus was then 13 years old. According to Haydar's calculations, p. 84, Yūnus was born in 819/1416.
[5] He was cut in two.
[6] *TR*, p. 75 sq.

ista marched with an army of 30,000 men against Sayyid Ali who had only 7,000. The battle took place 3 farsakhs from Kashghar. The Chaghatays deserted their chiefs and fled, in consequence of which the Moghuls called this battle *Salay begim*, which the historian translates as "I shall abandon my amir". The fugitives were let into the town by the inhabitants, while the Moghuls devastated the surrounding country and withdrew with their booty. The raid was repeated in the next year. This time the governor kept to the safety of the town walls without interfering with the enemy's plundering of the country. The Moghuls again retired after taking a neighbouring fortress. Khoja Sharīf who, according to Muhammad-Haydar, had in 1416 betrayed Kashghar to the Timurids, now sought help in Samarqand. Ulugh-beg [1] recalled the old governor and appointed PIR-MUHAMMAD in his place. When however, the Moghuls appeared for a third time, Pir-Muhammad too proved helpless to stop their depredations. The loss of the third harvest in succession threatened the country with famine.

With the Khoja's assent the inhabitants got in touch with the Moghuls. Pir-Muhammad was bound, delivered up to SAYYID ALI and killed. Sayyid Ali entered Kahsghar where, according to the historian, he ruled for twenty-four years until his death. The year of his death, A.H. 862, is quoted from the date on his mausoleum which was still extant in Kashghar in the historian's time [2]. One may thus conclude that the conquest of Kashghar took place in the year 838, i.e. in 1434 or 1435 A.D., preferably 1435, for the devastation of the country was connected with harvest time. It is difficult to make these dates agree with the same historian's statement that the Timurids reigned for forty years in Kashghar [3]. Muhammad-Haydar is often guilty of chronological contradictions. Factual details in his account are also much open

[1] Muhammad-Haydar reproduces an incredibly rude conversation between Ulugh-beg and the Khoja. Ulugh-beg is alleged to have asked whether there were many asses in Kashghar, to which the Khoja replied: "Many since the Chaghatays have come".

[2] *TR*, p. 87. On Sayyid Ali's youth see above, p. 89, note 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

to doubt, for he was writing towards the middle of the sixteenth century from oral tradition. But he seems to be fairly accurate in outlining the general course of the conquest of Kashghar by the Moghuls. The stratagem which he records had been used by the nomads in the early thirteenth century, when Küchlük the Nayman, without besieging the town or accepting open battle, deprived the population of the harvest for four consecutive years and thus forced it into surrender [1]. It was apparently impracticable to remedy the situation by importing the necessary quantity of grain along the mountain roads separating Kashkhar from Farghana and other agricultural regions.

40. Authors nearer in date to the events say nothing of the loss of Kashghar by the Timurids. Abd al-Razzaq reports that a force sent by Ulugh-beg in the spring of 1434 to MOGHULISTAN returned "victorious" [2] but he gives no details of this success. He does not even mention an event recorded both by Muhammad-Haydar and Babur namely the arrival in Samarqand of fugitives from Moghulistan headed by Prince YŪNUS, son of Vays-khan. The deaths of Vays-khan and Satuq-khan were followed by a struggle between the partisans of Vays's two young sons, Yūnus and Esen-Buqa, in which the latter's adherents got the upper hand. Yūnus and the leaders of his party, Irazan and Miräk-Turkman, together with their supporters numbering 3000-4000 families, sought refuge with Ulugh-beg [3], who is said to have married, at some earlier date, his young son 'Abd al-'Azīz to Yūnus's sister. By Ulugh-beg's order the Moghul chiefs were treacherously killed: they were admitted into the citadel through one gate, with the promise of being provided with provisions, and intercepted at another. The others were partly imprisoned and partly sent into different provinces. The young prince, with a fifth part of the booty, was taken to Shahrukh. In Herat the prince was well received and sent on to the West. He stayed for over a year in Tabriz with the Turcoman ruler JAHĀNSHĀH, [4]

[1] *Turkestan*, p. 368.
[2] In AR, Univ. MS., f. 244b, the expression *muzaffar-u-mansūr*
[3] Thus in *Babur-nāma*, p. 10; according to the *TR*, p. 73 30,000.
[4] [Of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty].

after which he joined Shahrukh's son, prince Ibrāhīm, in Shiraz. This occurred five or six months before Ibrahim's death which took place on 3 or 4 May 1435 [1]. From what Babur says it may be inferred that the massacre of the Moghul chiefs in Samarqand occurred in 1433 [2]. This event produced such an impression upon the Moghuls that they reckoned their years from that date. The expedition mentioned by Abd al-Razzaq, and the struggle between the Moghuls and Chaghatays for the possession of Kashghar may have been connected with it.

Under khan ESEN-BUQA, who survived Ulugh-beg, the Moghuls were able to plunder the Timurid possessions with impunity. Muhammad-Haydar speaks of the fortresses built by the Moghuls: on the Ala-bugha whence they raided Farghana, and on the Issik-kul whence they raided Sayram, and even Yasī (alias Turkestan) [3]. During the troubles which occurred in the last years of Ulugh-beg's life, and after his death, Esen-Buqa took Andijan and came as far as Kandi Bādām [4].

41. Still less is known about Ulugh-beg's relations with the UZBEK KHANS after 1427. In 1429 Shahrukh, who was then in western Persia, heard through Ulugh-beg of the death of Boraq. BORAQ perished in the Moghul country at the hands of one Sultan-Mahmūd-oghlan who was killed in turn by a certain Muhammad-Ghāzī [5]. In 1427 Boraq seems to have devastated the country without enlarging his dominions at the expense of the Timurid state. Saghanak remained in Ulugh-beg's possession and was not conquered by the Uzbeks until twenty years later under the new

[1] The date is in AR, f. 245b, and Faṣīḥ, f. 423b: Wednesday, 4 Shawwal 838. Jahānshāh, however, ascended the throne later; according to Daulatshah, p. 457, in 839/1435-6. In 1434-6 Shahrukh was at war with Jahānshāh's brother Iskandar (AR, ff. 245a-248a).

[2] In another passage Muhammad-Haydar, *TR*, p. 84, places it in 832/1428-9, though at the time he adds that the khan was 16 years old, which points to 835/1431-2, cf. p. 104, note 4.

[3] *TR*, p. 78 sq. This suggests that Sayram was at the time the north-eastern frontier-point of Ulugh-beg's possessions.

[4] *Babur-nama*, f. 10a.

[5] AR, f. 238a. Faṣīḥ, f. 419b.

khan ABUL-KHAYR who [1] had been proclaimed as early as 1428 somewhere in Siberia. After the death of his rival Boraq, his army approached the Timurid frontiers, but its early operations were not directed against Mawarannahr In addition to the lower reaches of the Sir-Darya, Khwarazm and the shores of the Caspian had always attracted the nomads, being regions convenient for wintering. From these winter quarters, when circumstances were favourable, raids were made into agricultural lands [2] In the winter of 1430-1, Abul-Khayr succeeded in making himself temporarily master of northern Khwarazm with the town of Urganj, whereas southern Khwarazm, with Kāt and Khiva, remained under the Timurids. According to the Uzbek historian, only climatic conditions forced Abul-Khayr to evacuate the country, but according to Abd al-Razzaq the army sent by Shahrukh pursued the Uzbeks and devastated their country [3]. The Timurid possessions were attacked not only by Abul-Khayr's subjects but also by the so-called QAZAKHS, i.e. the tribes which had seceded from Abul-Khayr. Some of the Qazakhs entered Moghulistan and were settled by khan Esen-Buqa on the banks of the Chu [4]. Another group [5] raided Astarabad. At Shahrukh's orders strong bodies of troops, under the command of princes or eminent amirs, were always stationed during the winter in this region to repel such invasions. There is no mention of troops from Mawarannahr taking part in these operations.

In the fourteen-forties the Uzbeks were again active on the SĪR-DARYA. About the time of Shahrukh's death Abul-Khayr [6]

[1] On him cf. my article in EI.

[2] Cf. e.g. Narshakhi, ed. Schéfer, p. 16, on Paykand. "the winter which was the time of infidels' invasions".

[3] AR, f. 240a.

[4] Cf. *TR*, pp 82 and 272. Veliaminov-Zernov, *Researches on the kings of Kasimov* (in Russian), II, 139, and *Semirechye*. See Four studies I, 152 sq

[5] See AR, f. 255a On the term *qazaq* (*qazakh*) which appears in the Oriental sources at this period for the first time, see P. Falev in *Provcrbs of the Crimean Tatars* (in Russian), Simferopol 1915, p. 54. The time and place of the appearance of the term *qazaq* hardly allow to accept the theory lately advanced by N. Y. Marr, *Journal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, June. 1915, p. 286.

[6] *Tārīkhi Abul-Khayr-khānī*, Univ. MS., 852, f. 416 b sq.

had his governors in Saghanak, Sūzak and Uzkand. One may infer from the account of subsequent events, and especially of the struggle between Abu-Sa'id and Abdullah, that on the Sir-Darya the frontier town of the Timurid state was Yasï (or Turkestan).

42. Under Shahrukh and Ulugh-beg, the Timurid state entertained peaceful trade relations with the more distant eastern countries. The plan of a campaign against CHINA was abandoned immediately after Timur's death. The Chinese ambassadors whom he had detained were released under Khalil-Sultan. They returned to China in 1407 and were accompanied by Khalil-Sultan's ambassador Khudāydād [1]. At about the same time Shaykh Nur al-dın's ambassador arrived with horses and camels for the Emperor. In 1408 An-Chi-tao, who had been at the head of the embassy of 1395, was again sent from China to the West. This embassy which arrived in Herat in the beginning of 1409, brought condolences to Shahrukh on the occasion of Timur's death [2]. It returned to China [3] in the same year and was accompanied by ambassadors from Herat and Samarqand. In 1410 a Chinese embassy passed through Bish-balïq on its way to Samarqand [4] and in the same year, an ambassador from Herat arrived in China. The Chinese embassy just mentioned may have been the one which reached Herat in 1412 and was received with extraordinary pomp. In honour of the ambassadors, the inhabitants were made to decorate their houses with silks and carpets [5]. In any case,

[1] On this and subsequent Chinese embassies to Samarqand see Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches,* II, 261 sq.

[2] HAbru, MS. Dorn, 290, f. 313b; AR, f. 179b sq. According to the *Mıng-shi* the duty of offering sacrifice in memory of the late king and of bringing presents to the new one was entrusted to Pai-a-êrh-hsin-t'ai, *Med. Res*, II, 262, but the latter, as may be seen from what follows, left China after An.

[3] On relations between China and Herat see Bretschneider, *ibid.*, II, 279 sq.

[4] Bretschneider, *ibid.*, II, 240.

[5] HAbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 175b sq.; MS. Dorn 290, f. 316b; MS. Oxf., f 183b sq.; AR, f. 192b sq. The text of the letters also in Blochet, *Introduction* etc., p. 244 sq. The Chinese original from the *Ming-shi* in Bretschneider, II, 280.

the journey of the Chinese ambassadors to the West took several years, for in the letters they brought with them the Chinese Emperor exhorted Shahrukh and Khalil-Sultan to put an end to their differences and conclude peace. The embassy headed by Pai-a-êrh-hsin-t'ai returned to China in 1413. It was accompanied by ambassadors from Herat and other centres, such as Shiraz [1]. In the same year, another embassy was sent from China; it did not return until 1415, being accompanied by ambassadors from Herat, Samarqand and Shiraz. The Khorasanian historians do not mention the arrival of this embassy in Herat. Other ambassadors from Herat arrived in China in 1416. An embassy which in the same year was sent from China to Samarqand, Andkhoy [2], Herat and Isfahan [3], returned in 1417. From the works of Ḥāfiẓi-Abrū and Abd al-Razzaq [4] we know that the ambassadors stayed in Herat in April and May 1417. Their farewell audience which was accompanied by the customary festivities took place on 11 May [5]. Ulugh-beg who had arrived in Herat on Friday 7 May [6] also took part in arranging this entertainment. Ardashīr-Tuvaji from Herat and an envoy from Samarqand were sent with the Chinese ambassadors. The former returned to Herat on 13 October 1419 [7] together with another Chinese embassy. On their way to Herat, in August of the same year, the Chinese ambassadors visited Samarqand with presents for Ulugh-beg and left on 23 August, [8] the day following their reception. In October, on their way home they revisited Samarqand. Ulugh-beg again participated in the return embassy which left Herat on 4 December 1419 [9] but on arriving in Samarqand on 6 February 1420 [10]

[1] On the relations between China and Shiraz see Bretschneider, II, 292.
[2] *Ibid.*, II, 276.
[3] *Ibid.*, 291.
[4] HAbru, MS. Dorn 290, f. 328b; Oxf. MS., f. 296b; AR, f. 209a.
[5] 23 Rabī' I, 820. AR gives no date.
[6] 19 Rabī' I.
[7] 23 Ramadan 822. HAbru, Oxf. f. 314b; AR, f. 212 b, without any definite date.
[8] 1 Sha'bān. HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 319b; AR, f. 213b.
[9] AR. 16 Dhul-qa'da 822; HAbru: the 6th.
[10] 22 Muharram 823.

the Herat ambassadors learnt that Ulugh-beg's envoys to China had left two months before, though the Chinese ambassadors were still there. The embassy left Samarqand together with the latter on 25 February [1]. In Peking, where the embassy remained from December 1420 till May 1421, the ambassadors saw the black horse with white legs which Ulugh-beg had presented to the Emperor. In this embassy, Shahrukh, Ulugh-beg and Baysunqar had two envoys each, and Suyurghatmïsh and Shah-Malik one each. The diary of this embassy, composed by one of Baysunqar's envoys, the painter (*naqqāsh*) GHIYĀTH AL-DIN, is one of the most detailed and popular Muslim works on China [2].

The embassies were less frequent in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, a fact that the Chinese explain by the altered policy of the Chinese Emperors. In the letter from the Chinese Emperor to Shahrukh, brought in 1432 by the eunuch Li-kui, the interruption in the trade is explained by external obstacles on the road, i.e. the troubles in Central Asia [4]. By 1432 relations were regarded as restored, and the Emperor requested Shahrukh to give protection to the merchants. Already in 1427, an ambassador from Herat had visited Peking, and an ambassador from Samarqand in 1430. Li-kui was accredited to both these courts [5]. Chinese sources also quote the text of a letter from the Emperor Chêng-T'ung to Ulugh-beg in 1445 [6].

One of the main items of Chinese export was china, the production of which had attained a high perfection in the fifteenth century [7]. In one of the gardens outside the town, in the vicinity

[1] 10 Ṣafar 823.

[2] It was utilised by HAbru, Oxf. MS., ff. 383b-412a, from which with certain abbreviations it was reproduced by AR, ff. 224b-228b. Abd al-Razzaq's text, frequently reproduced by oriental authors, was published in the original and in French translation by Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, XIV, part, I, 308-341, 387-426. On Hafiz-i-Abru's text [published by K. M. Maitra, Lahore 1934] cf. *al-Musaffariya*, p. 27, and *Mir Islama*, I, 107, note 1 (in Russian).

[3] *Bretschneider*, o.c., II, 285.

[4] *Ibid.*, 286.

[5] He also visited Bukhara, *ibid.*, 271.

[6] *Ibid.*, 263.

[7] Münsterberg, *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte*, II, 274.

of the Chapan-ata height, Ulugh-beg had a pavilion built with the inner walls entirely faced with china brought to Mawarannahr in several consignments [1].

In the winter of 1421-2 Ulugh-beg received in Bukhara an embassy from TIBET. Unfortunately the record is very brief and nothing is said about its purpose, the route it followed or the impression it made at Ulugh-beg's court [3].

[1] *Babur-nama,* ff. 47a-b AR, f. 283a.

[2] AR, f 223a In the text *T.l.b.* but the correct reading *T.b.t* = *Tubbat* in the As Mus. MS, 574, p 472a, and 574a, f. 345b, Mirkhond, L. 1292 and C 322a, and Quatremère, *ibid.,* XIV, part. I, p. 306.

V. INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF MAWARANNAHR UNDER ULUGH-BEG

43. Far more than in his military undertakings, Ulugh-beg followed his grandfather's example in his concern for the prosperity of Mawarannahr and the magnificence of its capital. Under his rule, life in Samarqand was as it had been under Timur, and Ulugh-beg's court had nothing in common with his father's court in Herat. Shahrukh visited the mosque on Fridays like any other Muslim without taking any precautions to protect himself from the crowd. This made possible an attempt on his life in 1427 [1]. In Ramadan he strictly observed the fast, even when travelling. Four times a week, on Mondays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays readers of the Qor'an were summoned to the court[2]. Shahrukh was called a Muslim monarch *par excellence* [3] and to him was applied the *hadīth* on the renovator of the faith who appears at the beginning of every century [4]. Pleasures condemned by religion were severely repressed. The *muḥtasibs* (controllers of manners), of whom the town had two, were invested with full powers. Even the old custom which placed private houses outside the muhtasibs' concern was no longer respected, and the muhtasibs of Herat were free to enter the houses of high personages and pour away the wine if they found any. In 1440 it was reported to Shahrukh that wine-cellars remained only in the houses of the princes Jūkī and 'Alā al-daula, Shahrukh's son and grandson, which the muhtasibs did not dare enter. Shahrukh in person rode with the muhtasibs and their men to the princes' houses, and saw that the wine was poured away [5] in his presence.

[1] HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 435b.

[2] *Tārīkh-i Khayrāt*, f. 299a.

[3] The expression used by a shaykh in the *Rashahāt*, Tashk, lith., p. 294, Univ. MS, f. 195a, MS. As. Mus., f. 209a.

[4] AR, f. 253b. On the *hadīth* and its application see also *Mir Islama*, I, 1912, pp. 103 and 391.

[5] AR, f. 254a.

Meanwhile, in Samarqand there was feasting with music and song. Samarqand musicians and singers were invited by the rich of other towns. In the biography of Khoja Aḥrār there is a record of the invitation of Samarqand musicians and singers to Tashkent, for a banquet given by a local wealthy resident in the early twenties of the fifteenth century [1]. It is a remarkable fact that Ulugh-beg enjoyed the support of the Shaykh al-Islām 'Iṣām al-din, son of Abd al-Malik and successor of Abd al-Avval [2]. The darvish shaykhs, who attacked Ulugh-beg for his disregard of the Sharī'at, were equally obliged to level their accusations against the official head of the Muslim clergy. On one occasion the Shaykh al-Islam gave a banquet to celebrate the completing of the public baths built at his expense, at which singers were present. The muhtasib Sayyid-'Āshiq, appointed to that dignity by Ulugh-beg, addressed the Shaykh al-Islam in terms of severe reproach: "Shaykh al-Islam without Islam, what *mazhab* (school of law) makes it licit for men and women to sit together and sing?" [3].

44. The mode of life of the Shaykh al-Islam in Samarqand was no isolated phenomenon. Since the twelfth century — the times of the Bukharan Sadr-Jahāns [4], — there were in Central Asia divines whose life of luxury was a source of temptation for the true believers. Both the Sadr-Jahāns of Bukhara and the Shaykh al-Islams of Samarqand belonged to the aristocracy which in Ulugh-beg's time enjoyed the support of the supreme power. The interests of the popular masses were defended by the darvish shaykhs, particularly the Naqshbandis. As the learned theologians had become the leaders of the aristocracy, the struggle of darvishism against learned theology assumed a different charac-

[1] Khoja Ahrār, born in 806/1404, was at the time eighteen years old (*Rashahāt*, Univ. MS. 253, f. 134a; MS. As. Mus., f. 167b sq.; Tashk. lith. p. 239).

[2] The sources give no definite date for Abd al-Avval's death. We have seen (p. 74) that he is still mentioned in the record of the events of 1409-1411; in 1422, during Ulugh-beg's journey to Herat, the Shaykh al-Islam who accompanied him was 'Isām al-din himself, see AR, f. 224a.

[3] HS, Tehran edition, III, 219

[4] On them see *Turkestan*, 326, 329-31, and the article *Burhān* in *EI*.

ter in Turkestan, as compared with Western Asia. In the West the doctors of law demanded a strict observance of the Sharī'at, whereas the darvishes and sufis stood for a more liberal interpretation of religious laws, and it is a well-known fact that in Persia the term Sufism gradually became a synonym for religious free-thinking. In Turkestan, on the contrary, the darvishes upheld the Sharī'at and accused both the representatives of the supreme power and the official head of the Muslim clergy of failing in its observance. In so doing they claimed to represent the interests of the popular masses.

As consistent communists in [Medieval] Europe rejected science and art inaccessible to the popular masses, so the darvishes of fifteenth century Turkestan opposed all book-learning, including theology [1].

The history of Central Asian darvishism, composed in the beginning of the sixteenth century (*Rashaḥatu 'ayni-ḥayāt*) has many tales illustrating the hostility of the darvishes towards Ulugh-beg and the Shaykh al-Islam. Even the head of the Bukharan darvishes, SHAYKH MUHAMMAD PĀRSĀ, one of the persons responsible for Khalil's downfall, —and therefore for Ulugh-beg's accession, — was out of favour both with Ulugh-beg and the Shaykh al-Islam. When SHAMS AL-DIN MUHAMMAD IBN-MUHAMMAD AL-JAZARI [2] (probably Timur's contemporary mentioned above, p. 47) came to Samarqand to verify the *isnād* (the chain of transmission) with which the 'traditions' (*hadīth*) were handed down, Muhammad Pārsā was summoned by Ulugh-

[1] Among the doctors of law in Ulugh-beg's time, besides the Shaykh al-Islam 'Isām al-din, Khwāndamīr names: 'Alā al-din Shāshī (also mentioned by Daulatshah, p. 366), Muhammad 'Ālim (exiled by Ulugh-beg for his rudeness, he retired to Herat where he died), Afḍal al-din Kāshī (according to AR, f. 244b, he was with Ulugh-beg in Herat in 1434; in 1404 in company with the Shaykh al-Islam of Samarqand he visited Timur in Qarabagh, *ZN*, 560, and above p. 20), Sayyid 'Āshiq (on him see above; on his relations with Ulugh-beg see below), Faḍlullāh Abul-Laythi (who also visited Herat in 1434, AR, *ibid.*). See *HS*, Ind. ed., III, 159 sq. which is more complete than the Tehran edition, III, 219 sq.

[2] He died on 5 Rabī' I, 833/2 December 1429 in Shiraz, Brockelmann, II, 201; AR, f. 239b.

beg to Samarqand to explain from whose words he had been giving out the traditions. The test took place in the presence of the Shaykh al-Islam Shams al-dīn and other scholars. When one of the *isnād* quoted by Muhammad Pārsā seemed doubtful to Shams al-din, the former asked that a volume of a *Musnad,* recognised as an authority by Shams al-din himself, should be brought from the Shaykh al-Islam's collection; it is added that, though Muhammad Pārsā had never set foot in that library, he indicated the shelf on which the book was to be found and the page containing the *hadīth* with the corresponding *isnād* [1]

A well-known shaykh, NIZAM AL-DIN KHĀMŪSH [4] was persecuted by the sovereign and by the Shaykh al-Islam for his son's misdeeds. The Shaykh's son who was accused of improper relations with some ladies of the harem (it is not clear whether the harem was Ulugh-beg's own) sought safety in flight. The shaykh was accused of aiding and abetting his son and was brought before Ulugh-beg bare-headed and seated on a horse's crupper. Ulugh-beg was then in the Garden of the Public Place (*Bāgh-i Maydān*). His reception of the shaykh was rough and he showered reproaches on him. The shaykh replied: "All these words I can answer with but one word: I am a Muslim. If you believe me, it is well, if not, do what your heart commands you". This speech impressed Ulugh-beg so deeply that he ordered the shaykh to be released. The author quotes Khoja Aḥrār to the effect that Ulugh-beg paid for his affront to the shaykh by many misfortunes and was soon after killed by his own son [3]. In connection with this incident it is also reported that, some time before, Nizam al-din, at the request of the Shaykh al-Islam's

[1] *Rashaḥāt,* Univ. MS., f. 37a-b, MS. As. Mus., f. 43b, Tashkent lith., p. 61. The summoning of Muhammad Pārsā to Samarqand could have taken place only in the first years of Ulugh-beg's rule, for the shaykh went to Mecca in the beginning of 822/1419 and died in Medina in the same year on Thursday 24 Dhul-Ḥijja/11 January 1420 Cf. *Nafaḥāt,* p. 253 sq.; *Rashahat,* Univ. MS., f. 38b; MS As. Mus., f. 45b; Tashkent lith., p. 64.

[2] He is mentioned in the *HS,* III, 209

[3] *Rashahāt* MS, As. Mus, f. 82a (lacuna in the Univ. Ms.); Tashkent lith., p. 114 sq.

sons, had visited their father who was dangerously ill, and had taken his illness upon himself. Later, when the Shaykh al-Islam did not support him in his plight, Nizam al-din revoked his decision and the Shaykh al-Islam instantly fell down dead [1].

KHOJA AHRĀR himself, according to his biographers, had in his youth suffered indignities at the hands of Ulugh-beg's officials. There was at Ulugh-beg's court an old *yasaul* who dispensed justice in person, knocking down the offenders and beating them up. One day he let it be known in Tashkent that he was coming to have a look at "the descendants of shaykhs" (*shaykh-zāda-hā*) and ordered them to assemble in the *mazār*. Seventeen men gathered there, including Khoja Ahrar, who was the youngest among them. The yasaul made his appearance and started knocking them down one after the other. Khoja Ahrar alone contrived to avoid the blow. The nimbleness of the young darvish pleased the yasaul so much that he showed him preference over the others in spite of his youth, and when addressing them looked only at him. To his fellows astonished by his performance, Khoja Ahrar explained that he had been once a murid of Khoja Hasan-'Aṭṭār on whose advice he had learnt the art of wrestling, when to his great disappointment he had failed in his performance of esoteric tasks (*sabaq-i bāṭin*). His teacher had declared to him that he was destined to serve at the court of sultans and lighten the lot of the oppressed, and had given him an introduction (*sipārish*) to Sa'īd [2], one of Ulugh-beg's amirs.

One cannot say to what extent the single facts of this tale are worthy of credit. Khoja Hasan-'Aṭṭār is mentioned by Daulatshah as one of the principal shaykhs of Ulugh-beg's time [3]. Close relations between him and Khoja Ahrar could have been established only in Samarqand, but Khoja Ahrar went to Samarqand

[1] *Ibid*, f 85a-b; Tashk. lith., p. 118. Cf. *Nafahāt*, p. 259, where Khoja 'Imād al-dīn is named instead of Shaykh al-Islam 'Iṣām al-din, and the whole story is told somewhat differently.

[2] *Rashahāt* in the Univ. MS., f. 132a sq.; MS. As. Mus., f. 165a-b; Tashk. lith, p. 236.

[3] Daulatshah, ed. Browne, p. 366.

at the age of twenty-two [1], i.e. in 1426, and Khoja-ʿAṭṭār died in Shiraz in 1423 after some years spent at Shahrukh's court [2]. It is curious to note that the author of the story thinks that "the descendants of shaykhs", i.e. the young darvishes, were subjected to military discipline under the orders of a yasaul [3], while, on the other hand, the chief shaykhs commanded respect at Ulugh-beg's court and their recommendations carried weight.

Another important shaykh of Ulugh-beg's days [4] was YAʿQŪB CHARKHI, also regarded as one of Khoja Ahrar's teachers [5]. After the death of his teacher Bahā al-din Yaʿqūb retired first to Badakhshan, then to Chaghāniyān [6] and, as far as is known, entertained no relations with the court at Samarqand. Of the centres of darvishism, Bukhara alone seems to have had any political importance. Its clergy, as we have seen, contributed to the downfall of Ulugh-beg's predecessor, and later it was in Bukhara that the rising against Ulugh-beg took place. Ulugh-beg was conscious of the importance of the Bukharan divines, and he endeavoured to secure their good will. The madrasa of Bukhara was perhaps the first building he erected. In 28 November 1419 during his

[1] *Rashaḥāt,* Univ. MS., f. 135b; MS. As. Mus., f. 169b; Tashk. lith, p. 242.

[2] Compare the information about him in *Rashahāt,* Univ. MS., f. 54b sq ; MS. As Mus., f. 65b sq ; Tashk, lith., p 93 sq.; *Nafahāt,* Oriental edition, p. 255 sq

[3] On the role of the yasaul at Ulugh-beg's court see below, p. 126, the story of Ulugh-beg's clashes with the muhtasib.

[4] Nizām al-din Khāmūsh and Yaʿqūb Charkhi are named together in *HS,* III, 209, as shaykhs of Mawarannahr and upholders of the tradition of Bahā al-din Naqshband.

[5] *Rashahāt,* MS Univ., f. 3b; MS. As. Mus., f. 3b; Tashk, lith., p. 5.

[6] Cf. the Shaykh's biography in *Rashaḥāt,* Univ. MS., f. 40a sq ; MS. As. Mus., f. 47b sq.; Tashk. lith., p. 66 sq. and in *Nafaḥāt,* Orient. ed., p. 256; on his meeting with Khoja Ahrar also *Rashahāt,* Univ. MS., f. 143a; MS. As. Mus., f. 181b; Tashk. lith., p. 250. With Chaghāniyān were also linked the activities of Hasan-ʿAṭṭār; his father, ʿAlā al-din ʿAṭṭār, who died in 1400 (on Wednesday 20 Rajab 802, *Nafahāt,* p. 252), was buried in a village of Chaghāniyān; Hasan-ʿAṭṭār's body was brought from Shiraz and buried beside that of his father. Khoja Ahrār came to Chaghāniyān several years later than to Samarqand.

visit to Bukhara he stayed in the madrasa and distributed presents to students and other "deserving persons" [1].

45. Religious foundations hold an equally important place among Ulugh-beg's buildings in Samarqand. The site for them was chosen on the market-square of Samarqand, which like the famous square in Bukhara, is now called REGISTAN [2]. This name does not seem to have existed in the fifteenth century. Abd al-Razzaq speaks about a MADRASA built by Ulugh-beg at a place which was called "the head of the two *atīk* (?)" [3] and was occupied by the bazaar. [4] The inscriptions show that the building was begun in 820/1417 and finished in 823/1420, the latter date being confirmed by Hafizi-Abru [5] and Abd al-Razzaq. We do not know the name of the architect who designed this magnificent building, which artistically was on a par with Timur's constructions and in solidity was superior to them [6]. The madrasa was two-storied, with four lofty domes and four minarets at the corners. Every room was divided into two cubicles for two students [7].

The madrasas built by Ulugh-beg in Samarqand and Bukhara have proved the most enduring of his constructions, and of his works in general. Both these buildings fulfil their purpose to this day, whereas all the other madrasas in both towns, dating from the fifteenth century and earlier, have disappeared without leaving a trace [8]. About the MADRASA in Bukhara we know only

[1] HA, Oxf MS, f 321a. AR, f. 214a. The date is 10 Dhul-qa'da 922.

[2] ["Place where sand is abundant", *arena*. VM.]

[3] [Perhaps *etāk* "a skirt, or foot of a mountain"?]

[4] AR, f. 217b. MS. As. Mus., 574, p. 458, *anīk;* also 574a, f. 337b.

[5] Oxf. MS., f. 341a.

[6] According to N. I. Veselovsky, during the siege of the Samarqand citadel by the rebel natives, the garrison tried to destroy the minaret of the madrasa from whence the soldiers were being shot at but the sturdy building defied their efforts.

[7] *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*, Univ. MS. 949, ff. 53a-b.

[8] The builder of the Samarqand madrasa was Ulugh-beg's tutor Shah-Malik, *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 141a; MS. As. Mus., f. 178b; Tashk. lith., p. 254. Other madrasas mentioned are: the madrasa of Mubārak-Shah in Bukhara (*ibid.*, Univ. MS., f. 28; MS. As. Mus., f. 32b; Tashk. lith., p.

that in 1841-2, when Khanikov stayed in that town, it contained eighty rooms; the students received 3½ tillas a year [1]. In the sources accessible to me, I have not come across any other record of this madrasa after it had been founded. In the nineteenth century a legend was current to the effect that Ulugh-beg in person had taught in the Samarqand madrasa [2], but this is not supported by any earlier sources [3].

In the sixteenth century, it was only said that Ulugh-beg took part in person in the building of the madrasa [4]. The same nineteenth century author of the *Samariya* names the astronomer Qāḍī-zāda Rūmī [5] as *mudarris* (professor) of Ulugh-beg's foundation. This is apparently the "Qāḍī of Asia Minor (*Qāḍī-yi Rūm*)" who actually lectured in the madrasa of Samarqand. Jāmī, born in 817/1414 [6], came in his youth to Samarqand to attend his lectures. According to Wāsifī, Maulānā Muhammad Khwāfī was the first mudarris to be appointed by Ulugh-beg. When the building was nearing completion a question was put to Ulugh-beg as to who would be appointed mudarris. Ulugh-beg replied that he would find a man learned in every branch of science. His words were overheard by Maulānā Muhammad who, poorly dressed, was sitting near by "among heaps of bricks" [7].

46) and the madrasa of Sadr Qutb al-din in Samarqand (*ibid.*, MS. Univ., ff. 136b and 141a, MS. As. Mus., ff. 171a and 178b, Tashk. lith., pp 244 and 154); on the latter see V. L. Vyatkin, *Materials*, p. 18 sq.

[1] N. Khanikov, *Description of the khanate of Bukhara*, p 86. [Engl. transl. by de Bode]. The following inscription still exists over the doors: "To acquire knowledge is the duty of every Muslim and (female) Muslim".

[2] *Samariya*, p. 16. Vyatkin, VI, 170.

[3] N. P. Ostroumov, *The madrasas of Turkestan* (in Russian), p. 4, suggests that the subject of Ulugh-beg's lectures was astronomy.

[4] Wāsifī, f. 18a.

[5] *Samariya*, p. 16; Vyatkin, VI, 170.

[6] *Rashahāt*, MS. As. Mus., ff. 98a, 99a and 105a; Tashk. lith., pp. 140 and 148. One of his subjects was the commentary of Qāḍī-zāda on the *Mulakhkhaṣ* of Chaghmīnī (*ibid.*, MS. As. Mus., f. 99b, Tashk. lith., p. 140) On this work cf. Brockelmann, GAL, I, 173

[7] It is evidently on this phrase that V. L. Vyatkin, VI, 235, grounds his assertion, unsupported by references to sources, that Maulānā Muhammad

He immediately laid claim to this appointment. Ulugh-beg questioned him and having satisfied himself as to his learning, ordered him to be taken to the baths and given proper clothes. On the inauguration day, Maulānā Muḥammad delivered a lecture in his capacity of mudarris, and of the ninety scholars present, only Ulugh-beg and Qāḍī-zāda Rūmī were capable of following it. In the biographical records of Khoja Ahrar, there is mention of one of his pupils ABU-SA'ĪD AUBAHI who had been studying in Ulugh-beg's madrasa and had become disappointed in booklearning. Having come to know the *īshān* (Khoja Ahrar) he gave away to his fellow students at the madrasa the entire contents of his room, including the books [1]. This indicates that Ulugh-beg's madrasa was the centre of learned theology as opposed to darvishism. According to Daulatshah it counted more than a hundred students [2].

In the sixteenth century the number of students seems to have grown, for the madrasa possessed ten mudarrises. The chief mudarris was looked upon as the head of all the scholars of Samarqand [3]. In 1580 Ulugh-beg's madrasa was visited by Khan Abdullāh [4]. During the troubles of the late seventeenth century the madrasa fell into decay and at the beginning of the eighteenth century stood empty [5]. Soon after, the rebels who had seized the citadel destroyed the upper story of the madrasa which overlooked it [6]. In 1752 Amir (later, Khan) Muhammad Rahīm used the empty buildings of the Samarqand madrasas for storing grain [7]. Only in the nineteenth century were measures taken to restore the madrasas and their waqfs. Under Amir Ḥaydar (1799-1825)

"took part in the building of the madrasa as a simple labourer". It is probably the scholar Shams al-dīn Muhammad Khwāfī, who died on Friday 16 Rajab 845/1 December 1441, who is meant here, see Fasih, f. 430a.

[1] *Rashahāt,* MS. Univ., f. 191a, MS. As. Mus., f. 269b, Tashk. lith., p 369 sq

[2] Daulatshah, p. 362.

[3] Wāsifī, ff. 17b sq., 26a sq.

[4] *'Abdullah-nāma,* MS. As. Mus 574 age, f, 277b.

[5] *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī, l.c.*

[6] *Samariya,* p. 16.

[7] *Tuhfat al-Khānī,* f. 130b.

there were again students in Ulugh-beg's madrasa In 1906, it had two mudarrises, receiving 40 roubles a year, and sixty students (mullas) receiving 10 roubles each. The lectures took place in the students' rooms, for the part of the building where the lecture-rooms were situated was unsafe [1].

On the same square, facing the madrasa, Ulugh-beg built a KHANAQA for darvishes. According to Babur, the khānaqā was famous for its lofty dome, the like of which there were few in the world [2]. What happened to the khanaqa is unknown. In 1028/1619, when the Shīrdār madrasa was built on this site, it was evidently no longer in existence. We even know nothing of any remains of this building which may have subsisted till the seventeenth century. We hear only of "a vaulted structure" adjoining the southern front of the Shīrdār madrasa and thought to be the tomb of the Shi'a imam Muhammad, son of Ja'far al-Sādiq [3], although earlier sources do not mention such a mausoleum. There are grounds for presuming that the khanaqa was less patronised by Ulugh-beg than the madrasa. According to Abd al-Razzaq, both were liberally endowed with waqfs, which yielded greater revenues than could actually be spent. The sums in excess were used to form a special capital which was the property of both foundations [4].

In Babur's time, to the south of Ulugh-beg's madrasa there was a mosque called MASJID-I MUQAṬṬA', the walls and ceilings of which were faced with panels of carved wood (*qiṭ'a*). There was a considerable difference in the orientation of the madrasa and the mosque. The *qibla* of the mosque was regarded as the more reliable, for its orientation had been determined by observation of the stars [5]. This building too was later linked with the name

[1] N. P. Ostroumov, *Madrasas in Turkestan*, p. 4.

[2] *Babur-nama*, f. 46a.

[3] *Samariya*, p. 34 [Imam Ja'far died in A.D. 765].

[4] AR, f. 217b. According to Khwāndamīr, III, 208, in the fifteenth century, the administration of all the waqf foundations in general was the duty of the sadrs. Under Ulugh-beg, the sadr was Fathullāh Tabrīzī (*Rashahāt*, Tashk. lith., p 140), who survived his master (AR, ff. 297b and 300a)

[5] *Babur-nama*, f. 46b.

of Abdullāh, son of the Caliph 'Omar I and one of the zealots of the early days of Islam. It was called "Mosque of Omar", [1] but, in this case too, the attribution is not confirmed by earlier sources. To the north of the mosque, between it and Ulugh-beg's madrasa, the madrasa of Abu Sa'īd khan was built in the sixteenth century; of it there now remains only the Shibanid mausoleum known as CHIHIL-DUHTARAN [2].

A new CATHEDRAL MOSQUE was built during Ulugh-beg's reign although the first place was still retained by Timur's cathedral mosque BĪBI-KHANĪM [3]. The builder of this new mosque was not Ulugh-beg himself but Shahrukh's former tutor ALĪKE-KÜKELTASH who lived till over ninety and died on Friday, 14 October 1440 [4]. This dignitary does not seem to have taken any part in affairs of the state [5] but used his influence and wealth to protect the oppressed. Anyone who felt let down (*furū-mānda*) could turn to him for protection and received it. On hearing of some act of injustice Kükeltash immediately took steps to have it righted, whoever the perpetrator might be. Unjust rulers feared Kükeltash [6]. His name is also linked with a number of other constructions, such as the madrasa in Herat [7], and a group of charitable foundations in Marv (*'imārāti khayr)* [8]. His activites extended beyond the limits of the Timurid possessions. He bought land and developed agriculture as far away as Asia Minor and Egypt. Questioned by Shahrukh on such expenditure, he replied

[1] Or "Blue Mosque" (*Masjidi-kabūd*).

[2] *Samariya,* pp. 13 and 29.

[3] After Shibani's death (1510) the oath of allegiance to Suyunchuq-khan was taken in Timur's mosque, *ZVO,* XV, 198; here too was held the Friday religious service during the plague of 939/1532-3 (*ibid.,* 211). Cf. also Vyatkin, VI, 241.

[4] The date (17 Jamādī I, 844) is in AR, f. 254b, and Fasih, f. 429a; also in V L Vyatkin, *Materials,* p. 18 A different date in Vyatkin, VI, 246.

[5] He is often mentioned in accounts of military expeditions; in his ripe old age he spent the winter of 1431-2 with Baysunqar in Mazandaran, AR, f 240b.

[6] Fasih, *l c.*

[7] *Ibid,* f 423b.

[8] *Ibid,* f. 427a; also AR, f 250b (on the events of 842/1438-9).

that he had at heart the fame of his monarch: let it be said that Shahrukh's servant was buying land in such distant countries [1].

In 936/1529 khan Küchkunchi set up a marble *minbar* in Kükeltash's cathedral mosque [2] but towards the end of the eighteenth century [3] it fell into ruins and even its site has not been exactly determined [4]. Abū Ṭāhir Khoja locates it to the south of Ulugh-beg's madrasa [5]. In that case, Alīke-Kükeltash's mosque might be identified with Babur's Masjid-i Muqatta' and the "Mosque of Omar".

At a short distance from the madrasa and the khānaqā Ulugh-beg built public baths which in Babur's time were called the BATHS OF THE MĪRZĀ. The floor in this building was paved with every variety of stone. Neither in Samarqand nor in Khorasan were there baths like these [6] but no traces now remain of this building [7].

The sources do not mention any other building erected by Ulugh-beg within the town-walls, nor do they refer to the alterations made in the GŪR-I AMĪR which, in his reign, became the mausoleum of the Timurids [8]. What we know about Ulugh-beg's constructions *extra muros* we owe exclusively to Babur [9]. Somewhat to the west of the OBSERVATORY, the site of which was determined by the excavations of 1908, was situated the BĀGH-I MAYDAN ("Garden of the Public Place"). From what Ḥāfiẓi-Abrū says about it one may conclude that, contrary to Babur's assertion, this garden was already in existence under Timur. Immediately after it Ḥāfiẓi-Abrū names the "Garden of Mirza

[1] AR, f. 254b.

[2] *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*, Univ. MS. 949, f. 121b

[3] Thus according to Abū Ṭāhir Khoja, see below. The building was still intact under Sayyid Rāqim in 1113/1701-2 (cf. *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*, f. 49a), and under Muhammad-Ṣāliḥ, Vyatkin, VI, 241.

[4] V. L. Vyatkin, *Materials*, p. 18.

[5] *Samariya*, p 20.

[6] *Babur-nama*, f. 46a.

49a), and under Muhammad-Ṣālih. Vyatkin, VI, 241.

[8] ZVO, XXIII, 31.

[9] *Babur-nama*, f. 47a.

Ulugh-beg" [1] which may have been planted by Timur for his infant grandson. In the centre of the Bāgh-i Maydān stood the two-storeyed CHIL-SUTŪN ("Forty Columns" — a common name for this type of pavilions). The ground-floor consisted of pillars, some of them wreathed. At the four corners there were towers like minarets which gave access to the upper floor, built as a hall with a view on all four sides. The foundations of the building were of stone. According to V.L.Vyatkin, the Chil-Sutūn was situated on the right bank of the Siyāb "exactly opposite the highest mound on the Afrāsiyāb site", i.e. facing the citadel of old Samarqand. "Somewhat further up, on the Ḥalwā road, are the remains of a huge wall of the Bāgh-i Maydān" [2]. Adjoining the Bāgh-i Maydān in the direction of Chupan-Ata, there was a small garden (*bāghcha*) and in it a hall (*ayvān*); in the latter stood a large throne of stone, 14-15 cubits long, 7-8 cubits wide and 1 cubit thick. The stone had been brought from distant parts. In the middle of the throne there was a fissure said to have appeared after the stone had been set up. A pavilion tiled and faced with china (see above, p. 112) was situated in this garden.

46. The suburban palaces were probably used under Ulugh-beg, as under Timur, for royal banquets. As in Timur's days, religious commandments were disregarded at these banquets to the great indignation of zealots for the Sharī'at. Under Ulugh-beg, this indignation was openly manifested, which would have been unthinkable in Timur's time. When celebrating the circumcision of his youngest son 'Abd al-Azīz, Ulugh-beg granted the *tarkhānī* (exemption from taxes) to the population, probably that of Samarqand. The nobles and the populace drank wine on the plain of Kāni-gil, and feasting went on at Ulugh-beg's court. During the feast, the muhtasib SAYYID 'ĀSHIQ entered and said to Ulugh-beg: "You have destroyed the faith of Muhammad and have introduced the customs of the infidels". Ulugh-beg repressed his irritation and replied: "You have won fame through your descent from Sayyids and your learning, and have attained old age. Apparently you also wish to attain martyrdom and therefore

[1] *Al-Muzaffariya*, p. 15 (text) and 17 (translation).
[2] Vyatkin, IV, part IV, p. 34, note 3.

utter rude words, but I shall not grant you your wish" [1].

At another feast the muhtasib risked still graver consequences by insulting the Shaykh al-Islam. The latter complained to Ulugh-beg who on the following day convoked the cadis to try the offender. This came to the ears of ABUL-FATH DAYYAR [2], a divine whom Ulugh-beg greatly respected and who enjoyed the privilege of reporting to his master personally on all occasions. On hearing the details of the case from Ulugh-beg, he gave as his opinion that the monarch was quite right and that the muhtasib did deserve to be punished for his insolence. At that moment a soldier entered with the complaint that his brother's widow, whom according to nomad custom he had the right to take to wife, refused to marry him and proposed to marry a cloth merchant instead. Ulugh-beg immediately ordered the yasaul to see that the petitioner's demand should be complied with. Dayyār, who had witnessed the scene, intervened, telling the monarch that his decision was contrary to the Shari'at, according to which marriage could be only by mutual consent. He added that this made him suspect that the muhtasib's allegations regarding the breach of religious laws under Ulugh-beg's rule were not without foundation. The remark so impressed Ulugh-beg that he immediately ordered the repeal of the muhtasib's trial.

The details of these stories are of too anecdotal a nature to be entirely real, but they reflect the attitude of the representatives of the Shari'at towards Ulugh-beg. Like nearly all Muslim rulers who reigned after the "righteous" caliphs, Ulugh-beg, in the eyes of the clergy, was a tyrant under whom no self-respecting representative of the Shari'at could accept the charge of cadi without some loss of dignity. It is said of one of the shaykhs of Bukhara, HUSĀM AL-

[1] This and the following account are in Khwandamir, Tehran ed., III, 219. Cf. also the typical conversation between Ulugh-beg and Sayyid 'Ashiq in *Samariya*, VI, 191 sq. (there is a lacuna in the text, p. 37). The *Rashaḥāt*, Univ. MS, f. 158b, MS. As. Mus., f. 209b, Tashk. lith., p. 293, quotes Khoja Ahrar's opinion of Sayyid 'Āshiq as an extraordinarily eloquent preacher, comparable to Moses.

[2] In Ind. ed., p. 159, *Dhiyāba* (?).

DIN SHĀSHĪ, that he became cadi of Bukhara only under direct pressure from Ulugh-beg [1].

In Samarqand the charge of cadi was held by SHAMS AL-DIN MUHAMMAD MISKIN. The following anecdote illustrates his sense of justice and his courage. Like many oriental rulers, Ulugh-beg used to entrust money to merchants and in return receive part of the profits. One day a merchant, who had received from Ulugh-beg a precious stone to be traded, died without having paid him any profit or returned the value of the stone. Ulugh-beg wished to seize his property and brought forward witnesses. On learning this the cadi sent the following message to the sovereign through one of the courtiers: "It will not bring you much profit to produce witnesses and take action in this case because the gist of it is clear to me. If you wish me — whatever the merits of the case — to return a verdict in your favour, order me to be plunged, bound hand and foot, into cold water until I lose consciousness. Then I shall order the property of the merchant to be handed over to you in exchange for what you have lost". Ulugh-beg was so struck by these words that he waived his claim [2].

This anecdote about the cadi, like the stories about Ulugh-beg's skirmishes with the muhtasib, show that at least the representatives of the Shari'at did not see in Ulugh-beg a deliberate and implacable opponent. If from the Muslim point of view Ulugh-beg was not the ideal ruler guided in his decisions by religious precepts, neither was he a tyrant setting his

[1] *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS, f. 28b, MS. As. Mus., f. 32b, Tashk. lith., p. 46: *ba-zūr qāḍī sākhta*. See also in *Habib al-siyar*, Tehr. ed., III, 219, Ind. ed., III, 160 sq, on the cadi whose beard Ulugh-beg wanted to shave off in punishment for an unjust verdict, then to have him taken through the town in that state Khoja Abd al-Mumīn, one of Ulugh-beg's intimates *(nadīm)*, pleaded for the cadi and the latter was pardoned and let off with a fine of 20 horses. Abd al-Mumin appropriated the horses and, when Ulugh-beg remembered about them, replied that the cadi had been unable to produce the horses and preferred to lose his beard. Ulugh-beg laughed and let the matter drop.

[2] *HS*, III, 219 sq. The tale is quoted by Khwāndamir from the mouth of the Shaykh al-Islam of Herat, Sayf al-din Ahmad Taftāzānī, on whom see *Babur-nama*, f. 177b; Brockelmann, II, 218.

will above the commandments of God and his Prophet [1].

47. Still less do we know about the conditions of life of the popular masses during Ulugh-beg's reign. According the Daulatshah, land taxes were brought down to the lowest possible level [2], which of course contributed to the prosperity of the peasants. On the other hand Ulugh-beg attached a great importance to the *tamghā* [3], *i e* the taxes on trade and industry [4]. Ulugh-beg's insistence on the *tamgha* must have been regarded by the clergy as a lack of piety. In the entire Muslim world [5] including Mawarannahr [6] these taxes were always taken to be an offence against the Shari'at. They were often repealed by the rulers to please the clergy, but were always re-established. As far as it is known, the *tamgha* was never in abeyance during Ulugh-beg's reign.

Historians do not mention any public works by Ulugh-beg outside Bukhara and Samarqand. Even the legend ascribing to him the cutting of the Mirza-ariq out of the Zarafshān [7] finds no support in the sources. There is no information as to whether Ulugh-beg ever travelled over his dominions, apart from military expeditions. It is hardly probable therefore that Ulugh-beg could have been a popular ruler, but down to 1447 there were no risings in his kingdom. It is only the behaviour of his son 'Abd al-'Aziz and the events of the last years of his life — most of which were beyond his control — that finally impelled the army and the people to turn away from their sovereign.

[1] According the Khwāndamīr, III, 211, Ulugh-beg was the murīd of the famous Sufi Qāsim-i Anvār who lived for some time in Samarqand, and died in 837/1433-4. Daulatshah, 348, gives the date of his death as 835/1431-2. Ethé, *Grundriss,* II, 295 and 299, also gives 837.

[2] Daulatshah, p. 362. According to this text, 2/3 of a dirham in copper, or 1/3 in silver, were paid on one *jarīb* (0.45 acre) of land yielding four donkey-loads of grain (*circa* 800 lbs).

[3] Khwāndamir, *Habīb al-siyar,* III, 218; cf. Mirkhond, L, 1320.

[4] On the *tamgha* see Barthold, *A Persian inscription ... in Ani* (in Russian), p. 33 sq.

[5] Cf. the remark of Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka,* I, 65 and 92.

[6] Cf. an anecdote from Timur's times in *Habib al-siyar,* III, 176, and the words ascribed to Timur on the *tamgha* as the "most lawless" (*harāmtarīn*) of levies.

[7] Barthold, *Irrigation,* p. 116.

VI. ULUGH-BEG'S PRIVATE LIFE AND SCIENTIFIC OCCUPATIONS

48. Before Ulugh-beg, the Muslim world had possessed no scholarly monarch. In this regard, the Muslim writers could liken him only to Aristotle's royal pupil [1]. There is nothing in the sources to show when and under whose influence he acquired a taste for scholarship. Neither his grandfather nor his guardian, the queen Sarāy-Mulk-khanīm, could have been responsible for it, and it seems highly improbable that he could have indulged in study during the years of Amir Shah-Malik's tutelage. In his childhood and early youth Ulugh-beg surely did not exceed in learning the standards of the other Timurids. In all probability, his scientific studies began only after he had become ruler of Mawarannahr. In his time there still were in Samarqand representatives of Persian culture brought there by Timur, and it must have been their influence that aroused in Ulugh-beg his enthusiasm for the exact sciences [2] which were studied with particular intensity in Persia under Mongol dominion. The Mongol khans encouraged the exact sciences in view of their practical value. Ulugh-beg, being a product of a more enlightened age, held science above theology and literature, deeming that its results endure for all time and all nations and are not affected by the disappearance of religions and languages [3]. This remarkable, though fundamentally mistaken, idea [4] is typical of Muslim culture whose representatives had assimilated ancient culture "including

[1] Daulatshah, p. 362.

[2] In AR, f. 287b *'ulum-i riyāḍī-va-hikamī*, also f. 217b. The word *riyāḍ* or *riyāḍa* is a translation of the Greek term "mathematics". On the meaning of the term *riyāḍī* see also *Mafātīh al-'ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 133 (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music, i.e. the sciences of the mediaeval *quadrivium*).

[3] Sédillot, texte, p. 4.

[4] It is enough to confront the undying beauty of the masterpieces of Greek literature with the theories of Greek scholars which have but a historical interest.

Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, Euclid and Ptolemy, but excluding Homer, Sophocles and Euripides, Thucidides and Polybius" [1].

Among Ulugh-beg's first teachers in Samarqand was the "Plato of his times" ṢALĀḤ AL-DIN MŪSĀ IBN-MAHMŪD QĀḌĪ-ZĀDA RŪMĪ. Another scholar, GHIYĀTH AL-DIN JAMSHĪD IBN-MAS'ŪD was invited by Ulugh-beg from Kāshān, probably on Qāḍī-zāda's advice. Abd al-Razzaq speaks of the invitation of yet another Kāshī, MU'ĪN AL-DIN [2]; though he is not mentioned by Ulugh-beg, he seems to have founded a school, for among the astronomers named are his son, MANṢŪR KĀSHĪ, and his pupil 'ABD AL 'ALI IBN MUHAMMAD BĪRJANDĪ [3] Curiously enough, among Ulugh-beg's collaborators Khwandamir names only the Kāshīs, and says nothing about the Samarqandis [4].

In his account of the events of 823/1420, in the passage recording the construction of the madrasa and the khānaqā [5], Abd al-Razzaq refers also to the building of the observatory. This alone is not sufficient reason for assuming that it was erected simultaneously with the other two buildings. The year 1492, given by Dorn [6] and Brockelmann [7] as the date of Qāḍī-zāda Rūmī's death, is undoubtedly wrong. According to Ulugh-beg, Qāḍī-zāda died after Ghiyāth al-dīn Jamshīd. Two dates approximately determine the time when he entered Ulugh-beg's service: in the month of Dul-qa'da 818/January 1416 he wrote a small treatise on astronomical instruments for Sultan Iskandar (probably, of the Qara-Qoyunlu dynasty) [8] and therefore could not yet have been in Ulugh-beg's service; on 3 Jamādī 830/2 March 1427 he finished a mathematical work for Ulugh-

[1] *Mir Islama*, I, 1912, 416.
[2] AR, f. 217b, see the text quoted in E. Blochet, p 87 sq.
[3] On his works see Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 473, 511, 512. Rieu, *Pers. Man.*, p. 453.
[4] *HS*, III, 214.
[5] AR, *l.c.*
[6] Dorn, *Catalogue de la Bibl. Imp.*, p. 110.
[7] Brockelmann, *o.c.*, II, 212. The date is borrowed from Ḥājji Khalīfa, I, 322. It is contested by Rieu, *o.c.*, p. 456.
[8] Cf. *IAN*, 1914, p. 459 sq.

beg's library [1]. Thus he must have been invited to Samarqand between 1416 and 1427. The former works of the author are enumerated in the preface to the mathematical treatise; first in order come "the Khāqān's tables for perfecting the Ilkhan's tables" [2]. These latter tables are the famous work of Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī, whereas the "khaqan" for whom Jamshīd's work was written must have been Shahrukh. Before coming to Samarqand the author probably spent some time at the court of Herat.

The astronomical tables of Ghiyāth al-dīn Jamshīd have not come down to us so that we cannot tell how far they differed from Ulugh-beg's work. In any case Ulugh-beg must have acquired enough proficiency in astronomy to be able to discuss scientific problems with Ghiyāth al-dīn [3]. According to some reports, Ghiyāt al-dīn was a rough mannered man, and Ulugh-beg put up with his rude ways for the sake of his learning [4]. The fact is that the dedication to Ulugh-beg in Ghiyāth al-dīn's mathematical treatise is written in the most refined style. The author calls his monarch "possessor of the sacred spirit, human perfections, angelic qualities and traits of Muhammad's nature", and expresses the wish, — somewhat strange in Shahrukh's lifetime, — that "God should render eternal Ulugh-beg's caliphate and sultanate in the inhabited part of the world".

The exact date of Ghiyāth al-dīn's death is unknown. Suter tentatively places it *circa* 840 [5], *i.e.* the late fourteen-thirties. His death was soon followed by that of Qāḍī-zāda Rūmī who also did not live to see the completion of the observatory and of the astronomical tables. Ulugh-beg found a new collaborator in ʿALĀ AL-DĪN ʿALĪ IBN MUHAMMAD QUSHCHI, "the Ptolemy of his times". The appellation *qushchi* ("falconer") suggests that

[1] *Al-Miftāḥ fil-hisāb,* MS. Publ. Library Dorn 131, the date is at the end, f. 122a.

[2] *Al-zīj al-musammā bil-khāqānī fī takmīl al-zīj al-Ilkhanī.*

[3] An example is in Sédillot, trad., p. 141.

[4] Rieu, *Pers. Man.,* p. 456b, according to the *Haft Iqlīm* of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī.

[5] Suter, *Mathematiker,* No. 429.

this scholar was a member of the court [1]. He was younger than Ulugh-beg who called him his "son" [2]. Apparently he took up astronomy under the influence of his sovereign, but not merely out of desire to please him, for he continued his studies to the end of his life. Besides sharing Ulugh-beg's scholarly pursuits, 'Alī Qushchi was also his personal friend [3] from whom he had no secrets.

49. There is very little information in the sources [4] regarding the arrangement of Ulugh-beg's OBSERVATORY, the remains of which were discovered by V. L. Vyatkin in 1908. Excavations of the site have yielded rather poor results [5]. Part of a quadrant of huge dimensions was unearthed. According to written reports, its height was equal to that of the cathedral of St. Sophia in Constantinople [6]. Babur says that the entire building had three storeys [7]. Abd al-Razzaq speaks of pictures of the nine heavens, the nine heavenly spheres, with degrees, minutes, seconds and tenths of seconds, the skies of rotation (*aflāk-i tadāvīr*), the seven planets, the fixed stars, the terrestrial globe divided into climates, with mountains, seas, deserts etc. [8]. The words *nuqūsh* and *ruqūm* suggest a mural painting and not maps and separate globes

[1] Cf. also *Rashahāt*, MS. As. Mus, f. 99b, Tashk lith., p. 140, the report about Ali Qushchi visiting Jāmī in Herat dressed in Turkish garb.

[2] Thus he is called by Ulugh-beg in his Preface to the tables (*Sédillot*, texte, p. 6).

[3] Ulugh-beg's words in Mirkhond's report (L 1320 and 1491, C. 364a) quoting Ali Qushchi

[4] AR and Babur and, partly, the commentator on Ulugh-beg's works.

[5] On the results of the excavations see V. L. Vyatkin's article in *Bulletin of the Russian Committee for the study of Middle and Eastern Asia* (in Russian), ser. II, No. 1, pp. 76-93. From a personal letter from V. L. Vyatkin I gather that further excavations did not help to establish the organisation of the observatory.

[6] Sédillot, introd., p CXXIX, with reference to Graves (17th century). The comparison was probably made by Ali Qushchi when he visited Constantinople. [This seems to be an exaggeration. In 1911 I accompanied the late V. L. Vyatkin to the spot when an astronomer was checking the meridian of the observatory. V.M.]

[7] *Babur-nama*, f. 46b.

[8] AR, f. 217b. Blochet, p. 88.

(such as existed in some observatories, *e.g.* in Marāgha) [1]. We do not know whether Ulugh-beg's library (see above) was attached to the observatory, or was situated in one of the palaces, nor do we know if the observatory possessed a special staff and a school for the study of secular objects, as was the case in Ghāzān-khan's observatory in Tabriz in the fourteenth century [2].

The date of the completion of ULUGH-BEG'S TABLES is taken to be the beginning of 841/1437 [3], but Ulugh-beg continued to work on them after that date and finally completed them in the year of his death (853/1449) [4]. In the tables themselves the date is not indicated, but in several places the year 841 is mentioned as the basis of the author's calculations [5]; however, in the comparison of the Muslim and Chinese eras, Tuesday, 8 Shawwal 847/28 January 1444 is indicated as the beginning of the *Shang-yüan* cycle [6].

Ulugh-beg's observatory was not destined to play the same part in the world of science as the observatory of NAṢĪR AL-DĪN TŪSĪ, which was built in Marāgha in 1259 A.D. [7] and was still functioning in 1300 when Ghazan khan visited it [8]. Ulugh-beg's observatory ceased its activities immediately after its founder's

[1] D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, 264. Wassāf's actual words, Ind. ed., p. 32, are: "he made a model (*shikl*) of the terrestrial globe, with utmost accuracy, and clearly indicated the division of the inhabited quarter into 7 climes, together with the length of the days, and the latitude of (each) country, the height of the Polar Star in various places, as well as the position and name of (each of the) countries, the form of the islands and the seas".

[2] Rashīd al-dīn, MS As Mus. a 566, f. 393a, Cf. *Mir Islama*, I, 1912, 87.

[3] Sédillot, Introduction, p. CXXIX; *Samariya*, p. 17; Vyatkin, VI, 170.

[4] Sédillot, p. CXXXI.

[5] *Ibid.*, transl., pp. 131, 135, 146.

[6] *Ibid.*, text, p. 317, transl., p. 34. [The correct date seems to be Monday, 29 Ramadan, or 20 January 1444. V.M.]

[7] 657 A.H.; Wassaf *l.c.* [See *Marāgha* in *EI.*]

[8] Rashīd al-dīn, MS. As. Mus. a 566, f. 368a D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 271. In 1339 the observatory lay already in ruins, cf. Hamdullāh Qazvīnī's text in *Siasset Nameh*, Supplément, ed. Schéfer, p. 219. [An attempt to restore the observatory was made in 949/1542, under Shah Tahmāsp, see *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*. V.M.]

death. His only pupil and collaborator Ali-Qushchi left Samarqand and died in Constantinople in 879/1474 [1]. Another commentator of Ulugh-beg's works, besides Ali-Qushchi, was MARYAM-CHELEBI, a grandson of Qādī-zāda [2], but after Ulugh-beg's death Muslim astronomy made no progress After him "real astronomers disappeared and their place was taken by *muwaqqits* (compilers of almanacs) attached to the mosques" [3]. Ulugh-beg's works are remarkable for the accuracy of his observations but they contain no gropings after new ways, such as we find in the works of the Persian astronomer Qutb al-dīn Shīrāzī [4].

50. However great Ulugh-beg's passion for astronomy might have been, it would be a mistake to think that he devoted all his time, or even all his leisure to it. He was a passionate hunter and, like the Seljuk Sultan Malikshāh [5] in the eleventh century, kept a list of the game killed. As a proof of Ulugh-beg's extraordinary memory, Daulatshāh quotes an occasion when this list was mislaid and re-written from memory by Ulugh-beg. When the lost book was later found, only four or five discrepancies were discovered between the old list and the new [6]. Ulugh-beg's winter trips to Bukhara were probably made for the purpose of fowling [7]. Like all Shahrukh's sons, Ulugh-beg had some notions of Persian literature, and a correspondence on literary subjects went on between him, Baysunqar and Ibrahim [8]. Of the principal Persian poets, Ulugh-beg's preference went to Niẓāmī, and

[1] C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, 234 sq

[2] According to Sédillot, his son, see *Prolégomènes*, introduction, p. CXXXII, trad., p. 225 Brockelmann, *o.c.*, II, 235, calls him the grandson of Ali Qushchi. Apparently he was the grandson of both astronomers, see E. Blochet, *Mus. persans*, II, 68, No. 791.

[3] Nallino, in *EI*, under 'Astronomy'.

[4] On him see Baron V. R. Rosen in *Collections scientifiques*, III, 307.

[5] *Recueil de textes des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, II, 69.

[6] Daulatshah, p. 362.

[7] On fowling on lake Qarakul see Narshakhy, ed Schéfer, p. 17; *Turkestan*, 118, 455. Describing his uncle Sultan-Ahmad, Babur characteristically remarks, f. 19a, that *after Ulugh-beg* there was no such "king falconer".

[8] Daulatshah, p. 351.

Baysunqar's to the Indian poet Khusrau-Dihlavi, which led to a discussion between the brothers [1]. In this respect Ulugh-beg's literary taste is nearer to that of modern European specialists, but Baysunqar had a great reputation among his contemporaries as a lover and connoisseur of literature and the fine arts [2]. Daulatshah also quotes, without sharing them, Ulugh-beg's, or his entourage's appreciations of three other Persian poets (of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) [3]. The best known Persian poet of Mawarannahr, among Ulugh-beg's contemporaries, was 'Iṣmatullāh Bukhārī. After the deposition of Khalil-Sultan he declined the honour of singing Ulugh-beg's praises and withdrew from the court. He spent the remaining years of his life in retirement, but the other poets continued to visit him and called him their master [4]. The "King of Poets" at Ulugh-beg's court was Kamāl Badakhshī whose poetry still enjoyed some popularity in Mawarannahr in the days of Daulatshah [5]. Abu Ṭāhir Khoja, the nineteenth-century historian, asserts that Ulugh-beg himself composed poetry in Persian and quotes a verse in illustration [6], but Daulatshah says nothing about Ulugh-beg's personal excursions into poetry [7].

There is nothing to show whether Ulugh-beg bestowed any attention upon the divans of "Chaghatay" poets who during the Timurid epoch tried to create a Turki poetry in imitation of the Persian. One of these poets, Sakkākī, whose divan has come

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 240

[2] Cf. Faṣīh's opinion of him, f. 422a.

[3] Daulatshah, p 103 (on Falaki), 126 (on Sayf al-din Isfarangī), 141 (on Jamāl al-dīn Isfahanī).

[4] *Ibid., p.* 361, and Rāqim (under the year 840). According to Daulatshah, 361, he died in 829/1426, or in 840 according to Rāqim (*Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*, MS. Univ. 949, f. 48b sq.).

[5] Daulatshah, p. 420 (also 366). From what he says it appears that "in Mawarannahr, Badakhshan and Turkestan" greater fame was enjoyed by the divan of Khiyālī of Bukhara, another of 'Ismatullāh's pupils.

[6] *Samariya,* p. 17; Vyatkin, VI, 171.

[7] In the fifteenth century writing poetry was considered beneath the dignity of a monarch. Cf. the words of Fasih, f. 422b, on Baysunqar: "His Highness was above writing poetry, or being suspected of doing so".

down to us [1], extolled Ulugh-beg, as well as Khalīl-Sultan [2] and Muhammad Pārsā [3]. In one of these poems the poet humbly begs the sovereign's assistance [4]; in another he praises Ulugh-beg's learning above that of the great scholars of antiquity and of the Muslim world [5]; in still another he proudly declares: "the heavens will have to complete their circle many years (in succession) before they again produce such a poet of Turkish nationality as I, such a learned monarch as thou" [6]. LUTFĪ [7], another poet of that epoch, also mentions Ulugh-beg in his verses. There is no information as to what Ulugh-beg thought of this poetry and whether he was interested in poetical literature in his mother-tongue.

51. Another work linked with Ulugh-beg's name is the historical composition THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR ULUS (*Tārīkh-i ulūs-i arba'a*), i.e. the four states formed after the break-up of the Mongol empire: *viz.*, "the great *yurt*," i.e. China and Mongolia, the kingdom of the Juchids (of the Golden Horde), under Hulagu's descendants, and Central Asia under the descendants of Chaghatay. Ulugh-beg could hardly have taken part in the composition of this work. Khwāndamīr definitely states that the history was written by "one of the best men of Shahrukh's times in the name of Ulugh-beg" [8]. An adequate impression of the contents can be gathered from Khwāndamīr's numerous quotations and from the abridged version in a London MS. [9]. The author utilised the works of Rashīd al-dīn and Niẓām al-dīn Shāmī. The history of the Mongol empire was preceded — as

[1] MS. Br. Mus. Or. 2079. Rieu, *Turk. Man.*, p. 284.
[2] F. 7a sq. The date, f. 7b, is 810 A.H.
[3] F. 5a sq.
[4] F. 9a.
[5] F. 12a.
[6] F. 14b. [Or perhaps: "to produce, among the Turks, such a poet and such a learned king".]
[7] A. Z. Validi, 'The Chaghatay poet Lufti' (in Russian), p. 23 see above p.
[8] *HS*, III, 4.
[9] B. M. Add. 26190, cf. Rieu, *Pers. Man*, p. 163 sq., and *Turkestan*, 56.

in Rashīd al-dīn — by an outline of the legendary history of the Turkish and Mongol peoples [1].

For his own times the author has made several additions to Nizam al-din. To the list of the fourteen Ilkhans of the "Great Yurt" he has added the names of another five [2], of whom the only historical personage seems to be the last khan Aday [3]. Sharaf al-din Yazdi knew nothing of these names for he ended his own list with Tayzi-oghlan (see above p. 50). In the history of the Juchids, fourteen names [4] are added to Nizam al-din's twenty-five (down to Shadi-beg). This list is more complete and more reliable than that of Sharaf al-din which is brought down to 831/1428. Three names [5] out of those quoted in the *History of the Four Ulus* are omitted in Sharaf al-din, and after the last khan in Sharaf al-din's list (Muhammad khan, successor of Darvish-oghlan), the *History of the Four Ulus* names four more khans: Devlet-berdi, son of Tash-Timur; Boraq; Ghiyāth al-din, son of Shadi-beg, and Muhammad, son of Timur khan, i.e. "Kuchik Muhammad" [6]. The author gives only their names without any further information [7]. In his account of the Chaghatay ulus, Sharaf al-din mistakenly calls the queen Ergene [Orghana]-khatun, daughter of Ariq-bögä [buqa]. The *History of the Four Ulus* does not repeat this mis-

[1] *HS*, II, 4, quotes from this work the etymology of the name Qalach = *qal ach*, which is also in Rashīd al-dīn Cf. in Berezin's edition, VII, p. 25, and Radloff, *Kudatku Bilik*, Einleitung, p. XXI.

[2] *HS.*, III, 18 and 25; Ind. ed., III/3, pp. 28 and 42.

[3] On him see D. Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols* (in Russian), p. 46.

[4] *HS*, III, 26. MS. Br. Mus., ff. 127b-128a. Miles, *The Shajrat ul — Atrāk*, London 1838, p. 239 sq.

[5] The twenty-seventh (according to Ulugh-beg): Timur, son of Timur-Qutluq, on whom see A. Markov, *Catalogue of the coins of the Imp. Hermitage* (in Russian), p. 498; the thirty-second: Jabbār-berdi, son of Tokhtamish, and the thirty-third: Sīdī-Ahmad.

[6] S. Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan dynasties*. Golden Horde, Rival dynasties.

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[6] S. Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan dynasties* Golden Horde, Rival dynasties.

[7] *HS*, III, 26 "as the details of these kings are unknown, one has to limit oneself to an enumeration of their names".

take[1] and restores the name of her father in accordance with Rashid al-din[2]. Among the puppet khans of the years 1358-1370, both Khwāndamīr[3] and the London MS.[4] name Kābul-Shāh *after* ʿĀdil-Sultan[5]. This mistake in the order of enumeration evidently existed in the *History of the Four Ulus* All this points to the fact that the *History* was entirely independent of Sharaf al-din. The historical work attributed to Ulugh-beg would probably be of some interest as a literary composition and as material for historical criticism, but its discovery would scarcely enrich our knowledge of the history of the Mongol empire and of the states which arose out of its disintegration.

The outstanding representative of medical science in Samarqand under Ulugh-beg was a certain Maulānā Nafīs[6]. As to Herat, it is curious that Shahrukh's pious inclinations set their mark even on medicine, and some records anticipate present-day "Christian science". In July 1441 there died in Herat the learned and pious physician Shams al-din Muhammad "who treated patients by faith"[7].

52. It remains to see how far Ulugh-beg's family life differed from that of a common Oriental despot. According to Khwāndamir[8], Ulugh-beg had five wives, three of whom he names:

[1] *Ibid.*, 28: "according to the author of the introduction to the *Zafarnāma*, she was the daughter of Arıq-boga [buqa], son of Tulı-khan, but according to the author of the *Four Uluses*, daughter of Nur-elchi [sic] gurkan".

[2] Cf ed. Blochet, 185 *h* [daughter of Tūrālchī-gūrkān].

[3] *HS*, III, 32 [here the name is spelt Qabūl-shāh].

[4] MS. Br. Mus, Add 26190, ff. 181a; Miles, p. 380.

[5] On him and his predecessor see above p. 13, after Iskandar's Anonym. According to Sharaf al-din, Kābul-Shāh was set upon the throne as early as 765/1364, *ZN*, I, 96 This is more probable than the Anonym's report because the author, f. 251a, also states that Kābul-Shāh's reign lasted one year and four months, and ʿAdıl-Sultan's five years. In the *ZN*, I, 185, 190, ʿAdıl-Sultan is mentioned in 1369; he was killed after Timur's victory in 1370, I, 206

[6] Khwāndamīr, Tehran ed., III, 219; Ind. ed, III/3, p. 159.

[7] Fasıh, f. 429b: *muʿālaja ba-iʿtiqād kardī* [rather by persuasıon?]. On hım cf. AR, f. 256b.

[8] *HS*, III, 219. In the Tehran edition this information is given in the margın. The Indian edition omits it.

1. ÓGE-BEGÜM (or Öge-biki), daughter of Muḥammad-Sultan, was Ulugh-beg's first wife, whom he married in 1404, at the age of ten (see above, p. 46). She died in 1419 and was buried by the side of her father in the madrasa built by him [1], i.e. probably in the Gūr-Amīr, where, however, her tomb has not survived. In 1412, during her first pregnancy, she was brought to Herat and there, on Friday 19 August [2], gave birth to a daughter who received the name of Ḥabība-Sulṭān (or Ḥasība-Sulṭān) and the title of Khānzāda-begüm, probably on the strength of Muhammad-Sultan's descent from khans (see above, p. 35). According to Khwāndamīr this princess died when she was two years old. If so, she must have had a sister who bore the same name and title [3] and lived in Herat. In 1438 Ulugh-beg asked for his daughter to be sent to him to Samarqand [4]. The princess duly arrived, but in April 1439 returned to Herat [5].

2. AQ-SULṬĀN KHĀNĪKA, daughter of Sultan-Mahmud khan, the nominal sovereign, in whose name coins were struck under Timur. It is probably she who is meant in the following story reported by Mirkhond on the authority of Alī-Qushchi [6]. Ulugh-beg questioned Muhammad Ardistānī, an expert in the art of divination (*'ilm-i raml*), on the events of the near future. The diviner declared that the events involved the harem and refused to speak in Ali-Qushchi's presence, but Ulugh-beg told him to speak freely before Ali-Qushchi who was his friend The diviner

[1] Cf *ZVO*, XXIII, 30 In AR, Univ. MS. 157, f. 213b, by mistake "in the *gunbad* of her mother's madrasa", the MS As Mus. 574, p 448, and 574a, f 332b, reads: "of her father"; similarly in HAbru, Oxf. MS., f 319a

[2] 10 Jamādī I 815; the date is already in HAbru, MS. Ind Off, f. 180a, Oxf MS., f. 191a.

[3] Khwandamir supposed that the name Khānzād-begüm belonged only to the late princess and the name Ḥabība-Sulṭān to her sister.

[4] Fasih, f. 427a. AR, f. 251a, reports that the princess was first brought to Herat from Samarqand by the queen Gauhar-Shād. Fasih, f 411b, places this event in 822/1419, i e. the year of her mother's death.

[5] Fasih alone mentions this, f 427.

[6] C 364a, L 1320 and 1491, also *HS*, III, 219. In L 1320, "the daughter of Khizr-khan", but neither the MSS., nor Khwāndamīr have the name "Khizr" L 1491: "daughter of the khan of Turkistan".

then foretold that, out of two of his wives, Ulugh-beg would within a few days kill one and repudiate the other ("the khan's daughter"). Ulugh-beg refused to believe this prophecy, for he was greatly attached to the "khan's daughter" who was his constant companion. However, some days later, when the first part of the prophecy had come to be fulfilled, the "khan's daughter" manifested her joy so noisily [1] that Ulugh-beg in disgust pronounced the formula of divorce. Despite the legendary tone of this story, one might infer that Ulugh-beg had a strong attachment for one of his wives, the daughter of the former khan, and that some family tragedy destroyed that feeling.

3. HUSN-NIGĀR-KHĀNĪKA, daughter of Khalil-Sultan.

The names of six concubines are also mentioned:

1. RUQIYA-SULTAN-KHATUN, the mother of two of Ulugh-beg's daughters, Aq-Bash and Sultan-Bakht.

2. MIHR-SULTAN, daughter of Tevkel, [Tükel?], son of Sarbuqa.

3. DAULAT-BAKHT-SA'ĀDAT, daughter of Bayan-Kukeltash. By her Ulugh-beg had a daugthter, Qutluq-Turkān [Tärkän] -agha.

4. DAULAT-SULTAN, daughter of Khwānd-Sa'īd.

5. BAKTHĪ ,daughter of Aqa-Sūfī Uzbek.

6. DAULAT-BAKHT, daughter of Shaykh Muhammad Barlas.

Among Ulugh-beg's daughters Khwāndamīr does not mention RABĪ'A-SULTAN-BEGÜM who after the taking of Samarqand by Mirza Abū-Sa'īD (855/1451), became the wife of the Uzbek khan Abul-Khayr. She bore him two sons, the future khans Küchkünchi and Süyünich [2], and was buried in the town Yasï (*alias* Turkestan) where her tomb is to be found to this day [3]. It is curious that Khwāndamīr names only the mothers of some of

[1] Some versions, probably erroneously, read: "she reproached Ulugh-beg so bitterly", or words to that effect

[2] See Baron Demaison's note on his translation of Abul-Ghāzī, p. 192; also P. Lerch, p. 20, quoting the *Shībānī-nāma* and the *'Abdullāh-nāma*

[3] P Lerch, *ibid*, p. 19 sq. (the date is 890/1485); also V. L. Vyatkin's article in *Turkestanskiye vedomosti*, 1906, No. 93.

Ulugh-beg's daughters [1], and says nothing about the wives or concubines who bore him sons, viz. the princes;

1. 'ABDULLĀH, born in July 1420 [2]. He must have died in early childhood for he is not mentioned again.

2. 'ABD AL RAḤMĀN, born in 1421 [3] in Bukhara. He died in Samarqand in 1432 [4]. According to Mirkhond, in 1425 this prince met Ulugh-beg on his return from his expedition to Moghulistan.

3. 'ABD AL-LAṬĪF, the future murderer and successor of Ulugh-beg. The date of his birth is not given. In 1427 he was circumcised in Herat [5] where he was being brought up under the care of the queen Gauhar-Shād. Towards the end of 1439 he was present with the other princes at the solemn reception of the Egyptian embassy [6]. In 1441 he quarrelled with his guardian, angered by the preference shown by her to Baysunqar's son 'Alā al-daula. 'Abd al-Laṭīf returned to his father in Samarqand [7]. Early in 1442 the queen came to Samarqand to fetch "her son who had been taken from her" [8], and persuaded him to return to Herat [9]. Of all Ulugh-beg's sons he was the only one to give him grandsons. Both of them, in 1457 and 1464 respectively, came to the same end as their father and grandfather.

[1] According to Khwāndamīr, Ulugh-beg had altogether seven daughters; we do not know the mothers of two of them: Tugha-Turkān [Tarkān] (who died in childhood) and Öge-Tughan-Shah.

[2] The date in is HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 342b, and in AR, f. 218a: beginning of Rajab 823.

[3] According to AR, f. 223b, 8 Muharram 824 (13 Jan.); according to Fasih, f. 416a, 20 Rabī' I (25 March). According to HAbru, f. 374b, this was the date on which news of his birth reached Herat.

[4] According to Fasih, f. 421a, on Tuesday 11 Jamādī I 835/15 January 1432 Cf. AR, f 241a. Mirkhond applies to 'Abdullāh all that HAbru and AR say about Abd al-Rahman, and vice-versa (C 321b and 322a. In L 1292 Abd al-Rahman is not mentioned at all).

[4] According to Fasih, f. 421a, on Tuesday 11 Jamādī I 835/15 January

[5] AR, f. 248b.

[6] *Ibid*, f. 252a.

[7] *Ibid*, f 256a.

[8] *Ibid*, the queen's own words.

[9] According to Fasih, f 430b, the queen left Herat on Wednesday 20 Sha'ban 845/3 January 1442, and returned on Monday 14 Shawwāl/26 February in the evening Abd al-Latif arrived towards noon of the next day.

4. 'Abd al-'Azīz. The date of his birth is also not given. All we know is that he was younger than Abd al-Latif [1]. Already in 838/1434-5 he bore the title of khan and buildings were erected in his name (see above p. 86). Apparently he grew up at his father's court in Samarqand, where his circumcision was celebrated with great pomp (see above, p. 125). The report on the events of 1433 (see above, p. 106) shows that by that time Ulugh-beg had already chosen a daughter of Vays-khan of Moghulistan as a bride for Abd al-Aziz.

It is evident from all these details that, under Shahrukh, the custom of bringing up the princes at the court of the head of the empire under the supervision of persons appointed by him was not kept up with the same consistency as under Timur. Abd al-Rahmān and Abd al-Azīz grew up at their father's court in Samarqand. It may be that Shahrukh, or rather his wife Gauhar-Shād — who was the real ruler of the kingdom — strove to bring up the eldest children of each prince at the central court of Herat. This would explain why Ulugh-beg's young wife was brought to Herat when she was expecting her first child, and also why Abd al-Rahmān and Abd al-Azīz were left with their father, while Abd al-Latīf, and probably Abdullāh, were brought up in Herat.

53. Of his two sons who reached manhood, Ulugh-beg naturally preferred Abd al-Azīz who had grown up under his care. Ulugh-beg's weakness for him is the probable clue to this prince's behaviour in Samarqand in 1449, which became one of the main causes of his father's ruin. Abd al-Latīf was a man of entirely different character. He was ambitious and as gifted as his father [2], but, unlike him, possessed great strength of character, made himself more feared by his enemies and pursued his aims with more ruthlessness. According to one report father and son mistrusted each other from the first: both studied astronomy and — as it is alleged — read in the stars that each had reason

[1] AR, f. 285a: *birādār-i khurdi-ū.*

[2] Like Ulugh-beg he liked science and scholars and studied astronomy, poetry and history See his characteristic in Mirkhond, C 370b, L 1324.

to fear the other [1]. In all probability this legend was invented only in the wake of the events of 1449. Until 1448 Abd al-Latīf's interests entirely coincided with his father's, and it is only after that date — a year before the final catastrophe — that their ways parted.

[1] AR, f. 285a.

VII. ULUGH-BEG'S LAST YEARS AND THE BEGINNING OF A NEW EPOCH IN THE LIFE OF TURKESTAN

54. During his father's lifetime, Ulugh-beg was only an occasional guest at the imperial court and took no part in decisions affecting the realm as a whole. Of such questions, the problem of succession was far more important to him, as the eldest of Shahrukh's sons, than to the other Timurids. Shahrukh lived to a still greater age than Timur, but unlike his father, he never publicly nominated an heir to the throne. Gauhar-Shād's favourite was Baysunqar's son ʿALĀ AL-DAULA, born on 17 June 1417 [1], but the queen could not openly proclaim him for fear of Ulugh-beg and his son Abd al-Latīf (who represented Ulugh-beg's interests in Herat). In addition, another of Shahrukh's sons, MUHAMMAD-JŪKĪ, ruler of Balkh, born in 1401 or 1402 [2] was regarded as a candidate for the succession [3]. Shahrukh "secretly" wished to appoint him his heir, but his mother Gauhar-Shād, who wielded the actual power, would not even admit him to the affairs of the "divan", in which both Abd al-Latīf and ʿAlā al-daula took part [4]. In 1444 Shahrukh fell dangerously ill and his death was expected in Herat. Muhammad-Jūkī hurried from Balkh to the capital and there learnt that, at the queen's instance, the leader of the military forces, Jalāl al-dīn Fīrūzshāh, had taken the oath of allegiance to ʿAlā al-daula as heir to the throne [5]. Contrary to all

[1] The date in AR, f. 270b, is Thursday 1 Jamādī I 820; also in HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 293a-b, where the name of the prince is omitted (the date is also given according to the eras of Alexander and Yezdegerd).

[2] He was three years old at the time of Timur's death (*ZN*, II, 735). Muhammad-Jūkī spent most of his time in Herat. He took part in Shahrukh's expeditions into Western Persia (AR, ff. 237b and 247a); in 1438 he visited Ulugh-beg in Mawarannahr (*ibid.*, 250b); in 1433 he was ruler of the Garmsīr and of the Afghan province (*ibid.*, 244a); in 1443 he was sent to Balkh (*ibid.*)

[3] Daulatshah's expression, p. 395.

[4] AR, f. 268a.

[5] *Ibid*., f. 266a.

expectations, Shahrukh recovered, while Muhammad-Jūkī died in the same year (848/1444-5). This premature oath of allegiance may have been the cause of the disgrace which in the same year befell Jalāl al-dīn and his son, to whom the charge of commander-in-chief reverted on his father's death [1]. Later events show that the problem of succession remained open even after 1444. 'Alā al-daula's nomination remained in suspense for fear of infringing the rights of Ulugh-beg, Shahrukh's eldest and, at the time, only living son.

55. In 1446 the aged monarch undertook another campaign in the West, where the young prince SULTAN-MUHAMMAD, son of Baysunqar, had rebelled against his grandfather, seized Hamadan and Isfahan and besieged Shiraz [2]. 'Alā al-daula remained in Herat, while Gauhar-Shād and Abd al-Latif accompanied Shahrukh and the army. In Western Persia Shahrukh encountered no resistance. Sultan-Muhammad fled to the mountains. The fomenters of the revolt were severely punished [3]. At Gauhar-Shād's instigation the pious Shahrukh had several sayyids in Sāva executed — a measure which neither Timur nor Ulugh-beg would have dared to take. The tragic fate which befell Shahrukh's descendants was later explained by the curse laid on him by these sayyids [4]. During his stay in his winter-quarters Shahrukh was again taken ill and died on Sunday 12 March [5].

To please Ulugh-beg, Gauhar-Shād offered the command of the army to ABD AL-LATĪF. The latter immediately sent a courier to his father, left the right wing, which he had commanded until then, and took up his position under the principal standard. Gauhar-Shād, on her part, sent a secret messenger to 'ALĀ AL-DAULA in Herat. No sooner did the news reach him than Ulugh-beg gathered his troops and moved towards the Amu-Darya. According to Abd al-Razzaq, he considered himself heir

[1] *Ibid*, f. 266b

[2] AR, f 268 sq.

[3] The historian Sharaf al-dın Yazdī was saved by the intervention of Abd al-Latīf (f 270b).

[4] Daulatshāh, p 339

[5] 25 Dhul-hıjja 850 (AR, f. 271b)

to the whole of his father's possessions, as his only surviving son [1], and this meant that he did not recognise the rights of any of his nephews. The Amu-Darya was crossed before Ulugh-beg by MIRZA ABU-BAKR, Muhammad-Jūkī's son. After Muhammad-Jūkī's death the province of Balkh had been divided between his two sons [2], MUHAMMAD-QĀSIM and ABU-BAKR. The former, born in 1422 [3], received Balkh, the latter, born on 18 January 1427 [4], the lands to the north of the Amu-Darya: Khuttalān, Ārhang and Salī-Sarāy. After Shahrukh's death Abu-Bakr also seized his brother's fief: Balkh, Shapūrqān, Qunduz and Baghlān. Ulguh-beg summoned the young prince to his court and promised him his daughter in marriage. While in his future father-in-law's camp, Abu-Bakr was convicted of plotting. He was sent to Samarqand and imprisoned in the castle Kök-Sarāy, where he was later put to death on Ulugh-beg's orders [5]. Ulugh-beg crossed the Amu-Darya and occupied Balkh. There he received the news of Abd al-Latif's failure.

After taking over the command of Shahrukh's army Abd al-Latif had to contend with certain rebellious elements. ABUL-QĀṢIM BABUR, son of Baysunqar, born in 1422 [6], and KHALĪL-SULTAN, son of Muhammad-Jahāngīr by Shahrukh's daughter, left the army, plundered *Ordu-Bazar*, i.e. probably the main baggage-train of the army [7], and fled to Khorasan. Abd al-Latif succeeded in restoring discipline by a few executions, and on the third day after Shahrukh's death led the army back to the East. Ulugh-beg expected that from the western frontier of Khorasan [8] he might march northwards (by way of Nasā and Abīvard) and, carrying Shahrukh's body with him, lead the army to Sa-

[1] AR, f. 276a.
[2] On the partition see AR, f. 268a.
[3] HAbru, Oxf. MS., f. 383a. AR, f. 224a, Fasih, f 416a.
[4] The date is in Fasih, f. 419b, and AR, f. 235b: 28 Muharram 831.
[5] AR, f. 276a, Daulatshah, p. 397.
[6] HAbru, f 380b. AR, f 224a year 825.
[7] [The usual meaning of *ordu-bazar* is "the camp of merchants and camp-followers" V.M.].
[8] According to AR, ff. 273b and 276a, from the bridge over the river Abrīsham.

marqand. Between Rayy and Simnān Abd al-Latif ordered the queen Gauhar-Shād and her supporters, the *tarkhans,* to be taken into custody. The first resistance offered to him was in Dāmghān and the town had to taken by storm. In Bistām he learnt that the forces stationed in Gurgan to contain the Uzbeks had made their submission to Abul-Qāsim Babur, after which the latter had seized Mazandaran. Thus the road to the North, and thence to Samarqand, was closed to Abd al-Latif. He therefore continued his march eastwards and reached Nishapur where he learnt that Mashhad had been occupied by 'Alā al-daula's troops.

For fear of Ulugh-beg, 'Alā al-daula did not dare proclaim himself sovereign immediately upon receiving the news of Shahrukh's death. It was intended to continue to mention the name of the late monarch in Friday prayers. Only after hearing about Abd al-Latif's actions, and especially about his ill-treatment of the queen, did he decide to seize the throne. He shared out Shahrukh's treasure amongst the troops [1] and sent a detachment to Mashhad. On Saturday, 20 April 1447 [2], near Nishapur, Abd al-Latif was suddenly attacked by Ala al-daula's army, defeated and taken prisoner. The liberated queen, with the captive Abd al-Latif, set out towards Herat, and was met by Ala al-daula in Sa'dābād, in the neighbourhood of Jām. Abd al-Latif was brought to Herat and imprisoned in the fort of Ikhtiyār al-dīn. Shahrukh's body was buried in Baysunqar's mausoleum in the madrasa of Gauhar- Shād [3]. After that the Herat army under the command of Ala al-daula marched north-eastwards against Ulugh-beg and crossed the Murghāb.

56. In the face of these events, and acting on the advice of his

[1] According to Daulatshah, p. 414, the treasure on Shahrukh's death contained 20,000 tomans (*circa* 10 million pounds sterling), which is probably an exaggeration

[2] 13 Safar 851, AR, f. 274a.

[3] The building of the madrasa was completed in 1431 (AR, f. 241b). The report on Baysunqar's burial, in the following year, mentions "the madrasa and lofty dome" (*ibid.,* f 243b). Muhammad-Jūkī was buried in the same mausoleum (*ibid.,* f. 268a) On the remains of the building and the tombstones see C. E. Yates, *Northern Afghanistan,* p. 30 sq.

military chiefs, ULUGH-BEG gave up the idea of further conquests and opened negotiations with ALA AL-DAULA. His envoy, Ṣadr Nizām al-dīn Mīrak Mahmūd declared to Ala al-daula that Ulugh-beg regarded him as a son and harboured no evil intentions against Herat. Nor was Ala al-daula capable of continuing the fight, for Herat was threatened from the West by ABUL-QĀSIM BABUR who had defeated the Herat outpost near Jām. A treaty was concluded, according to which the Chechektü valley [1] was recognised as the boundary of Abd al-Latif's possessions and the basin of the Murghab became the north-western march of his kingdom [2]. Abd al-Latif was allowed to join his father and was appointed governor of Balkh with its dependencies on either side of the Amu-Darya [3]. In the same year a treaty was concluded between Ala al-daula and Babur, fixing Quchan as the frontier point between the dominions of these two princes.

Already in the winter of 1447-8 military operations had been resumed, first of all between Abd al-Latif and Ala al-daula. The latter, contrary to the provisions of the treaty, retained Abd al-Latifs *nukars* who had been taken prisoner with him as hostages. Furthermore, at the head of the frontier detachment stationed at Chechektü was put an enemy of Abd al-Latif, MĪRZĀ ṢĀLIḤ [4], who had taken part in the battle of Nishapur. All this moved Abd al-Latif to resume hostilities. Ṣāliḥ was defeated and fled to Herat. Upon this, Ala al-daula ordered Abd al-Latif's *nukars* to be put to death, and in spite of the winter season immediately marched on Balkh. Abd al-Latif was compelled to retreat, entrench himself in Balkh and appeal to Ulugh-beg for help. Ulugh-beg sent word to Ala al-daula that he should have made his complaint in Samarqand, instead of starting a war. At

[1] Chechektu lay at 10 *aghach* (farsakhs) to the east of the Murghab, cf. Babur, f. 187b

[2] Both in earlier and later times the Murghab on many occasions figured as the eastern boundary of Iran. Cf for the Sasanian epoch J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 52 sq., and for the seventeenth century Iskandar Munshi, pp. 397, 427 sq (who also refers to Chechektu)

[3] This is clear from AR, f. 278b

[4] Son of Pir Muhammad and grandson of Omar-Shaykh.

his request, Ala al-daula consented to return to Herat, but also took measures to protect his dominions against any further attack. A fort was built in Chechektü and as the cold made the building of brick-kilns impossible, bricks were obtained by demolishing water-tanks, rest-houses (*langar*) and other buildings intended for the poor [1]. After his return to Herat Ala al-daula applied himself to restoring the prosperity of the population which had suffered from the war [2].

57. In the spring of 1448 Ulugh-beg himself, together with Abd al-Latif, raised an army 90,000 strong [3] and resumed hostilities. Ala al-daula marched out to meet his enemies, and the battle took place at Tarnāb, 14 farsakhs from Herat [4]. The engagement ended in a complete victory for Ulugh-beg. Ala al-daula fled to Mashhad and from thence to Quchan, where he took refuge with his brother Babur. The vazir and military chiefs of Herat, as well as the queen Gauhar-Shād, also left the town as soon as news of the defeat reached them. The only places to offer any resistance to Ulugh-beg were the fortress of Neretü, which was besieged and taken, and the citadel of Ikhtiyar al-dīn, which was taken by Abd al-Latif. From Herat Ulugh-beg marched further westwards and occupied Mashhad without opposition, but he was unable to take the fort of 'Imād which had been built by Ala al-daula in the days of Shahrukh. In the spring, before his expedition against Ulugh-beg, Ala al-daula had left part of his treasure here [5], and after his defeat he succeeded in retrieving it and in distributing it among his soldiers. Undis-

[1] *Biqā'-i khayr* AR, f 278b

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 280a In Herat preparations were going on for the celebration of the circumcision of Ala al-daula's son and the granting of the *tarkhānī* to the citizens, i e exempting them from taxes, when the news came that Ulugh-beg had crossed the Amu-Darya.

[3] On the number of the troops and on Gauhar-Shād see Daulatshah, p. 363

[4] On the way from Herat to Tarnāb there was the pass called Sanjāb, AR, f. 280b.

[5] 4,000 tomans (about £ 2,000,000) in coin were left by him in the citadel of Ikhtiyar al-din (AR); there too were 200 tomans (about £ 100,000) belonging to Abd al-Latif, *ibid*, f. 281b.

mayed by this set-back, Ulugh-beg continued the campaign. In Rādkān he was met by the envoys of Babur who offered to recognise his suzerainty, introduce his name into the *khuṭba* and strike coins in his name. Ulugh-beg graciously dismissed the envoys, but did not suspend military operations [1]. For some reason, he stopped at Isfarāyīn for twenty days and from thence sent Abd al-Latif against Bisṭām and Astarābād. Babur fled to Damghan only to learn that, after reaching the bridge over the Abrīsham river, Ulugh-beg had returned to Mashhad. The historian Abd al-Razzaq looks upon this withdrawal as a grave mistake on Ulugh-beg's part, as his enemies Ala al-daula and Babur were already preparing to escape to Iraq, and consequently all their possessions would have fallen into his hands. What prevented Ulugh-beg from advancing further must have been the fear of leaving behind him a country where, as subsequent events were to prove, his authority was not sufficiently well established. His return, however, reduced only temporarily the rebellious elements of Khorasan, while at the same time it enabled the fugitive princes to recover strength.

Abd al-Razzaq's account of Ulugh-beg's meeting with the Shaykh al-Islam of Herat [2] shows — as one might have expected — that his conquest of Khorasan did not please the local clergy. The SHAYKH AL-IṢLAM BAHĀ AL-DĪN had been asked by Ala al-daula to act as intermediary between him and Ulugh-beg, but he had been unable to reach Ulugh-beg in time before the battle at Tarnāb. After the battle the meeting took place in Chil-dukhtarān (near Kūshk). Ulugh-beg's soldiers robbed the Shaykh and, although Ulugh-beg saw that his litter was returned to him and otherwise tried to make amends, the Shaykh was not appeased. It was rumoured that he predicted that Ulugh-beg would be killed by his son upon the verdict of the cadi, pronounced in accordance with the Sharī'at.

The expedition of Khorasan did in fact do much to arouse ill-feeling between Abd al-Latif and his father. During the battle at

[1] AR, f 282a.
[2] AR, f. 281a.

Tarnāb Ulugh-beg entrusted the left wing to Abd al-Latif and the right (probably only nominally) to Abd al-Aziz. Although Abd al-Latif greatly contributed to the success by his valorous conduct, the proclamation of the victory sent out to all the provinces was made, on Ulugh-beg's orders, in the name of Abd al-Aziz [1]. Still more painful slights awaited Abd al-Latif in Herat. Under Shahrukh the fort of Ikhtiyār al-dīn seems to have been regarded as Abd al-Latif's property, just as the fort of 'Imād was considered as Ala al-daula's own. When in 1446 Abd al-Latif left with his grandfather for the West, all his property remained in the citadel. The treasure consisted of gold and silver vessels weighing several thousand dirhams, and of 200 tomans in coin (about £ 100,000). During the Khorasanian expedition the citadel was recaptured by Abd al-Latif, but Ulugh-beg would not allow him to regain possession of his treasure [2]. Althogether, Abd al-Latif suffered many humiliations at his father's hands in Herat, where under Shahrukh he had spent years "of grandeur" [3]. Apparently Ulugh-beg planned to return to Samarqand after reducing his enemies and to leave Abd al-Latif in Herat. By treating his son as he did, he probably wished to show the inhabitants of Herat that Shahrukh's days were over and that Herat with its province was to become again nothing more than a simple fief, as it had been in Timur's time

The news of Ulugh-beg's withdrawal incited Babur to move eastwards from Damghan [4]. Abd al-Latif was obliged to retreat from Bistam to Nishapur so hastily that at one of the stages he left behind the banner and the drum. In Nishapur he fell ill, and a report reached Ulugh-beg that his illness was feigned and that he was plotting against his father. The prince was summoned to Mashhad whither he was brought on a litter Only then, on seeing his son's condition did Ulugh-beg realise the falsity of the accusation [5]. Ulugh-beg remained in Mashhad until Novem-

[1] *Ibid.*, f 281a. the expression· *jaldū-yi fatḥ raqam zad*
[2] *Ibid*, f 281b.
[3] *Ibid*, f 285a (*ba-'aẓamat*)
[4] *Ibid*, f. 283b.
[5] *Ibid*, f. 282a.

ber [1], when news of a rebellion in the fort of Neretü impelled him to return to Herat and hand over Mashhad to Abd al-Latif.

58. The fomenter of the rebellion was the Turcoman prince YĀR-'ALĪ, son of Sultan-Iskandar of the Qara-Qoyunlu dynasty. He had fled from his father to the Shirvānshāh, and in 1432 the latter had sent him to Shahrukh by sea, *i e.* by the Caspian sea, probably *via* Astarabad [2]. In the autumn of 1432 he was present in Herat at the trying out of a newly invented war machine [3]. Shahrukh noticed that the good looks of the young prince had made a strong impression on the crowd. Some time later Yar-Ali was imprisoned and then sent to Samarqand [4] where he remained till 1448 For reasons of his own, Ulugh-beg took the prince with him on his Khorasanian expedition, and after Neretü had been taken, shut him up in that fort. Here too was imprisoned the military chief of Herat [5], SULTAN-ABU-SA'ĪD, who had fled from Herat with the queen Gauhar-Shād and had been captured by Ulugh-beg's soldiers [6]. One of Abu-Sa'id's men sent him a large loaf (*kumāj*) inside which a file (*sūhān*) was concealed [7]. Sultan-Abu-Sa'id and Yar-Ali burst their fetters, broke out of prison, killed the guards and seized the fortress with its treasure. This money allowed them to collect together a troop of followers. At the head of it they marched on Herat, which was then governed in Ulugh-beg's name by BĀYAZĪD-PARVĀNACHI. The military forces at Bayazid's disposal were inadequate. He had to mobilise the Tājīk (Iranian) population and every man who had a horse received the order to march. This army was defeated near Kārūkh, to the north-east of Herat, and the enemy invested the town. The militia proved more useful in the

[1] Till the end of Ramadan, *ibid*, f. 282b.

[2] Fasih, f. 421b.

[3] It could throw stones weighing 400 *mans*.

[4] AR, ff. 241a-b.

[5] The father of this amir, Muhammad-Darvish, who died in February 1433, was *darugha* (military chief) of Herat, and his son inherited his charge (AR, f 242a, Fasih, f. 421b sq., where the date is given as 22 Jamādī II, 836).

[6] *Ibid*, f. 281b.

[7] *Ibid*, f. 282b.

defence of the town than in the open field. One assault, during which the "Samarqand Turks" [1], i.e. Ulugh-beg's warriors, were routed, was beaten off by the Tajik archers from Bākharz [2]. Ulugh-beg came up with his army only 17 days after the beginning of the siege, and the enemy withdrew to Neretü. Ulugh-beg ordered an investigation of the reasons which had favoured the revolt. The inhabitants of the Herat suburbs were accused of aiding the enemy. As a punishment the suburbs were given up to three days' looting, after which the inhabitants were allowed to return to their empty houses. The ruined population suffered from the lack of food and clothing, the more so as the cold was severe. During the celebration of Bayram (28 November), a darvish ran in front of Ulugh-beg's horse crying: "righteous Padishah! Thou hast indeed arranged a fine feast for the darvishes, may thy life and reign be prolonged!" [3] Daulatshah asserts that in 1448 Khorasan became "desolate and waterless", and that in his own days (at the end of the fifteenth century) traces of the devastations wrought by Ulugh-beg's troops were still to be seen [4]. And yet, Herat and the surrounding country suffered even more after Ulugh-beg's departure.

59. On his return to Herat Ulugh-beg remained there for some time, but not long enough to consolidate his power. At ABUL-QĀSIM BABUR'S approach Abd al-Latif hastily left Mashhad and joined his father in Herat. Yar-Ali and his adherents remained in the fort Neretü which Ulugh-beg's troops were evidently unable to take Finally the Uzbek khan ABUL-KHAYR, taking advantage of the absence of Ulugh-beg and his sons, raided Mawarannahr. He came up to the very walls of Samarqand and, according to Abd al-Razzaq, plundered the surrounding country during those very days (end of Ramadan, i.e. end of November)

[1] *Ibid*, f. 282b

[2] To the west of Turbat-i Shaykh Jām, cf on modern maps the name of the mountains Kūh Bākharz.

[3] AR, f 283b.

[4] Daulatshah, p. 363

when Ulugh-beg's soldiers were looting the suburbs of Herat [1]. Abul-Khayr's biographer alleges that the governor of Samarqand, Amir Jalāl al-dīn son of Bāyazīd (probably the governor of Herat) and the dignitaries of the town offered him presents and told him that Ulugh-beg "was favourably disposed towards the khan's governors and was carrying out the conditions of unanimity and obedience" [2]. It is very unlikely that Ulugh-beg's governor would have dared to lower his sovereign's dignity so much before the khan, especially as this was unnecessary. It is more likely that the nomads, as it had happened before, withdrew from the fortified capital without having been bought off by gifts, but plundering the country as they went.

60. Such were the circumstances under which Ulugh-beg left Herat carrying with him Shahrukh's body and certain valuables [3] deposited by Shahrukh in the madrasa of Gauhar-Shād. Abd al-Latīf was left in Herat. The withdrawal could not be carried out without loss. On the way to the Amu-Darya, Ulugh-beg was overtaken by a body of Khorasanians under the command of HINDŪKA whom Babur — who had arrived in Sarakhs from Mashhad with an army — had sent from Sarakhs in the direction of Marv. Hindūka inflicted heavy losses on Ulugh-beg's army and captured Ibrahim, son of Idigū-Timur, one of his chief amirs. During the actual crossing of the river on a pontoon-bridge, Ulugh-beg was attacked by the Uzbeks who also captured part of the baggage-train and took many prisoners. Ulugh-beg spent the rest of the winter in Bukhara, from whence he sent on Shahrukh's body to Samarqand to be interred in Timur's mausoleum [4].

Simultaneously with his march towards Sarakhs, Babur sent a body of troops against Abd al-Latif in Herat. The latter, a fortnight after Ulugh-beg's departure, left the town and made for the

[1] AR, f. 283a. On this occasion the Uzbeks destroyed the "China" pavilion, see above p. 112.

[2] *Yak-jihatī-va-inquiyād*, MS. SPb. Univ. No. 852, f. 448a.

[3] Among them were "several pairs of steel gates (?)"; MS. As Mus 574, p. 626; 574a, f. 429a

[4] AR, f. 283b.

Amu-Darya by way of Andkhoy [1]. After crossing the river, he received orders from Ulugh-beg to proceed to his fief of Balkh, much to his relief, for he feared meeting his father.

According to Abd al-Razzaq, one of Abd al-Latif's grievances against his father was that he had not given him timely aid at Bisṭām, Mashhad and Herat [2]. This can hardly have been the case, because the conditions under which Ulugh-beg's retreat took place made it impossible for him to render military assistance to his son. Ulugh-beg undoubtedly valued Herat and would hardly have left Abd al-Latif in charge if he had not trusted him.

Abul-Qasim Babur's forces, which had captured Herat, set to plundering the town. Three days later YAR-ALI came up from Neretü. After a three days' siege the town passed into his hands and remained in his power for twenty days. Then BABUR arrived in person and Yar-Ali was defeated and executed in the centre of the town near the *chārsū* (bazaar). This happened in the last days of A.H. 852, i.e. towards the end of February 1449 [3].

Abd al-Razzaq avers that the events of 1448 deprived Ulugh-beg of all popularity with the troops and the population [4]. Nevertheless, in the spring of 1449 Ulugh-beg wished to renew the attempt to conquer Khorasan, but instead he had to wage war on his own son.

61. Abd al-Latif, as the feudal lord of a vast province, was the suzerain of other princes with smaller fiefs. In the spring of 1449, one of these, a certain MĪRĀNSHĀH, about whom it is only known that he was a descendant of Timur, raised a revolt which was quelled by Abd al-Latif. Mīrānshāh was killed and among his effects Abd al-Latif was said to have found a letter from Ulugh-beg revealing the latter as the real instigator of the revolt [5]. It was this action of his father's that Abd al-Latif invoked as his excuse when he openly broke with him, seized all the river-craft on the Amu-Darya and abolished the *tamgha, i.e.*

[1] Probably the route by which his father had travelled.
[2] AR, f. 285a.
[3] *Ibid.*, f. 284a.
[4] *Ibid*, f 284b
[5] The episode is mentioned only by Mirkhond, L. 1320.

the tax on trade to which Ulugh-beg attached particular importance, especially in Balkh which stood on the trade-route to India [1].

Ulugh-beg was forced to lead his army against Abd al-Latif, and on this occasion he entrusted his capital to his youngest son, Abd al-Aziz. With Ulugh-beg's army was his nephew, prince 'ABDULLĀH, son of Ibrāhīm, born on 19 March 1433 [2]. After his father's death, which occurred on 4 May 1435 [3], he was nominally regarded as the ruler of Fars In 1447, after the departure of Shahrukh's army, Fars fell into the power of Sultan-Muhammad. Abdullāh withdrew to the East. In 1448 he was with Ala al-daula's army and on the eve of the battle of Tarnāb went over to Ulugh-beg [4] According to Daulatshah Ulugh-beg gave him one of his daughters in marriage [5].

For a long time (three months, according to Daulatshah) the armies of Ulugh-beg and Abd al-Latif remained facing each other across the Amu-Darya [6]. Single detachments made attempts to cross the river and in the ensuing skirmishes success was usually with Abd al-Latif's men. During one such encounter Abdullāh was taken prisoner. In addition to the hostilities with his son, Ulugh-beg had to contend with rebellious tendencies among his own troops. News came that in Samarqand Abd al-Aziz was oppressing the families of the amirs who were with Ulugh-beg. The amirs resented this so strongly that Ulugh-beg was in danger of being seized and delivered up to Abd al-Latif. He had great difficulty in allaying this discontent. A letter in Ulugh-beg's name was sent to Abd al-Aziz with exhortations and threats [7] Shortly after, another disturbance arose in Ulugh-beg's rear which forced him to return to Samarqand.

[1] AR, f. 284b On the importance of the *tamgha* under Ulugh-beg see Mirkhond, L 1320; on the transit through Balkh see AR, f. 260b. Compare also above, p 128.

[2] The date 27 Rajab 836 is in AR, f. 241b

[3] *Ibid.*, f 245b (4 Shawwal 838) and Fasih, f. 423b. (Wednesday).

[4] AR, f 280b.

[5] Daulatshah, p 425. Also Babur, f. 50b

[6] Daulatshah, p. 364.

[7] AR, f. 286b.

62. Our information as to the origin of this movement and the person of its leader is not clear. The Turcoman [1] tribe ARGHUN proclaimed the twelve-year-old [2] MIRZA ABU-SA'ID as their ruler and laid siege to Samarqand. Abu-Sa'id was said to be the grandson of Miranshah, and the son of Sultan-Muhammad. However, no "Sultan-Muhammad" is found in the list of Miranshah's sons quoted in Timur's history [3]. It is said that he was Ulugh-beg's constant companion, though his name is never mentioned in the records of earlier events. He is said to have taken part in the war against Abd al-Latif and to have abandoned Ulugh-beg only on the Amu-Darya, when he led away the Arghuns. On the other hand, from Abd al-Razzaq's account it would appear that Ulugh-beg learnt about the revolt only after the siege of Samarqand had begun [4]. The revolt of a single Turcoman tribe, which could hardly have been very numerous, could not have forced Ulugh-beg to leave the banks of the Amu-Darya with his entire army.

Undoubtedly Ulugh-beg's return was caused by fresh intelligence received from Samarqand. The movement against Abd al-Aziz must have assumed such proportions that Ulugh-beg could not remain away from the capital The rebels could hardly been limited to the members of the military class, offended by Abd al-Aziz, and the Arghun tribe, which had taken an oath of allegiance to Abu-Sa'id. From the very first Abu-Sa'id found support among the clergy [5], especially in Bukhara, and it is probably they who were responsible for setting up this real, or spurious, descendant of Timur in opposition to Ulugh-beg.

After having restored order in Samarqand and forced Abu-Sa'id to flee to the steppes, Ulugh-beg resumed his campaign against Abd al-Latif this time taking Abd al-Aziz with him.

[1] Thus according to Daulatshah, p 364.

[2] Thus according to AR, f. 287a

[3] *ZN*, II, 734 sq, enumerating Miranshah's sons: Abu-Bakr, Omar, Khalil-Sultan and Suyurghatmish. This fact, however, has no decisive importance, cf. above p 83, note 5, the case of Sidi-Ahmad.

[4] AR, f 287a. According to Khwāndamīr, III, 218, the news of the siege reached Ulugh-beg only a week after it had started.

[5] AR, f 287a. on the importance which Abu-Sa'id attached to the views of the divines.

Mīrānshāh-Qauchin [1] was appointed governor of Samarqand. By this time Abd al-Latif had crossed the river and occupied Tirmidh and Shahrisabz, where he was joined by the local military forces. The engagement between father and son took place near Dimishq, on the outskirts of Samarqand, in the month of Sha'bān [2], i.e. in September or October 1449. Ulugh-beg's army was defeated. He tried to take refuge in the citadel of Samarqand but found the gates closed before him by Mīrānshāh. Accompanied by Abd al-Aziz and a few *nukars* he set off northwards and reached the fort of Shahrukhiya. The local governor, the mamluk Ibrahim son of Pulad, denied him entrance and tried to seize him and deliver him up to Abd al-Latif. Ulugh-beg preferred to surrender to his son, and together with Abd al-Aziz and his followers returned of his own accord to Samarqand. At first Abd al-Latif gave him permission to travel to Mecca with a former pilgrim, the amir MUHAMMAD KHUSRAU as guide. At the same time a trial of the deposed monarch was instituted, without Ulugh-beg's knowledge. Overtly Abd al-Latif took no hand in deciding his father's fate. As in Timur's time a certain wretch (*maflūk*) of Chingizid descent was proclaimed khan. One 'Abbās [3], on Abd al-Latif's instigation knelt before the new khan and pleaded that, in accordance with the Sharī'at, he should be granted the right to avenge his father's death which had been ordered by Ulugh-beg. The khan commanded that the Sharī'at be complied with in full. The religious authorities drew up a *fatvā* to this effect to which all the imams [4] of Samarqand, with the exception of the cadi MISKĪN, apposed their seals. When Ulugh-beg's power was at its zenith the cadi had courageously stood up to his monarch, and now he had the moral courage to refuse to confirm the iniquitous verdict pronounced against him.

[1] Thus according to AR, f. 287a, MS. As Mus. 574, p. 624; 574a, f. 434b; in Daulatshah, p. 364: Mīrānshāh-qorchi.

[2] The date is in Daulatshah, p. 364

[3] Thus according to Mirkhond, L 1321, C 365b. AR, f. 287b, mentions several men who avenged their relatives.

[4] Imāms, according to Mirkhond, faqīhs, according to Khwāndamīr, III, 218.

63 Mirkhond gives a detailed account[1] of Ulugh-beg's end from the mouth of Hājjī Muhammad-Khusrau who accompanied him. Ulugh-beg and the Hajji rode out of Samarqand in the evening. Ulugh-beg was in good spirits and conversed on a variety of topics. After they had travelled a short distance they were overtaken by a Chaghatay of the Sulduz clan. He ordered them, in the khan's name, to halt at a neighbouring village for the purpose, so he said, of completing the arrangements for Ulugh-beg's journey; the latter was meant to proceed in circumstances that would gain the approval of "great and small, Tajiks and Turks". Ulugh-beg, much perturbed by this order, was obliged to stop at the nearest village[2] where he entered one of the houses. It was cold, and he gave orders to light a fire and cook some meat. A spark from the fire kindled by the *nukars* fell on Ulugh-beg's cloak and burnt a hole in it. Ulugh-beg looked at the fire and said in Turkish: *sän häm bildin* "you too have understood". His thoughts took a gloomy turn and the Hajji vainly sought to cheer him up. Suddenly the door was flung open and Abbas entered with another man. At this sight Ulugh-beg, beside himself with rage, threw himself on Abbas and hit him in the chest with his fist. Abbas's companion held him off and tore his "Altai fur coat"[3] from his shoulders. While Abbas went off to fetch a rope, the Hajji secured the door with a chain to allow Ulugh-beg time for his ablutions. When Abbas returned Ulugh-beg was bound and dragged out, while the Hajji and Ulugh-beg's other companions hid themselves. Abbas seated Ulugh-beg near a lighted lantern and killed him with one stroke of his sword. The Hajji and the *nukars* returned to Samarqand. It is not stated whether they took Ulugh-beg's body with them, nor where, when and by whom it was buried. According to Daulatshah, Ulugh-beg was killed on the banks of a small river (or canal) Sūj, on 8 Ramadan 853/25 October 1449[4]). The inscrip-

[1] Mirkhond, L 1321; the best text is in C 365b-366a

[2] L: *qal'a*, "a fort, a walled village".

[3] *Pūstīn-i Altā'ī*

[4] Daulatshah, pp 364 and 366. In Mas'ūd Kūhistānī's *Tārīkhi Abul-Khayr khānī*, f. 407b *āb-i Sōkh.*

tion on Ulugh-beg's tomb bears another date — 10 Ramadan.

64 The struggle between father and son was brought to its conclusion without the intervention of other members of the dynasty, because war had broken out in Persia at the very same time. SULTAN-MUHAMMAD marched from Fars to Khorasan, defeated the army of his brother ABUL-QASIM BABUR at Farhādjird [1], between Mashhad and Jām, and occupied Herat. Abd al-Latif, who at the beginning of his war against Ulugh-beg had sent an envoy to Babur with assurances of friendship [2], now congratulated Sultan-Muhammad on his success and expressed the hope that he would enjoy the possession of Khorasan just as he himself enjoyed that of Mawarannahr. Sultan-Muhammad was grieved by the news of Ulugh-beg's death [3] but did not dare to make war on Abd al-Latif.

A few days after Ulugh-beg's death Abd al-Latif made away with his brother ABD AL-AZIZ, this time apparently without having recourse to the authority of judges and men of law. On the day of the capture of Samarqand, four of Ulugh-beg's amirs overtook a detachment which was on its way to join Abd al-Latif under the command of Sultan-Shah Barlas and his son Jalāl al-dīn Muhammad. Both were wounded in the affray and taken prisoner; the father died on the way to Samarqand and his son a few days later. On Abd al-Latif's orders all four amirs were arraigned before the cadi [4], condemned to death and executed. Mīrzā Abdullāh was spared and imprisoned. The same fate was allotted to Abu Sa'īd whom Abd al-Latif succeeded in taking prisoner. Towards winter, Abd al-Latif's supremacy in Mawarannahr seemed fully assured. Even the Uzbeks did not venture to renew their raids on Mawarannahr. According to Abd al-Razzaq, they used in former times to approach Samarqand every winter to a distance of five farsakhs, while now their fear of Abd al-Latif

[1] On the battle-field see Daulatshah, p 408 AR, f. 286a, mentions only the region of Jām

[2] AR, f 284b

[3] *Ibid.*, ff. 286b and 288a

[4] *Ibid.*, f 287b; in MS. As Mus 574, p. 624, and 574a, f. 434b, and in Khwāndamīr, Tehr. ed, III, 221, "in a special (or private) session".

kept them throughout the winter 100 farsaks from the town [1].

During the winter of 1449-1450 life in Samarqand became altogether different from what it had been under Ulugh-beg. Like his father, Abd al-Latif indulged in the study of secular sciences, such as astronomy and history, but the "men of God", i.e. the darvishes were treated with utmost consideration [2]. Abd al-Latif listened respectfully to their discourses and frequented their lectures. Shams al-din Muhammad Jājarmī relates from the mouth of a member of the clergy that at one of these lectures Abd al-Latif took part in the discussion on the Arabic verb *fa'ala* ("to do") which was sometimes explained by the verb *dhahaba* ("to go away"). Abd al-Latif quoted the example of a similar use of the Persian verb *raftan* ("to go") in the phrase *fulān kas nīk raft:* the monarch's remark won unanimous approval. On Fridays the *khutba* was read in the cathedral mosque by the monarch in person, as was the custom under the first caliphs [3]. This attitude of Abd al-Latif towards the clergy easily explains why Abu Sa'īd, who escaped from Samarqand in the spring of 1450, failed to find in Bukhara the support on which he had counted. The *darugha* and the cadi [4] took him into custody and were about to execute him when suddenly news came of Abd al-Latif's death.

In contrast to the clergy, the population and the army had a harder time under Abd al-Latif than under Ulugh-beg Abd al-Latif mercilessly repressed any kind of insubordination, admitting, as Abd al-Razzaq puts it, neither respect for old age, nor leniency towards youth. The malcontents, afraid to revolt openly, plotted in secret. The conspiracy was headed by the former *nukars* of Ulugh-beg and of Abd al-Aziz who felt it their duty to avenge the death of their begs [5]. One of Abd al-Latif's famili-

[1] AR, *l.c.*

[2] Mirkhond, L 1324, C 370b, and AR, f. 289b: on the respectful attitude of the king at the meetings of the "men of God"

[3] AR, f. 289b, where *khalaf* stands instead of *khulafā* (correct in MS. As. Mus 574. p. 628, 574a, f. 437b). There too see on subsequent events

[4] Thus in Mirkhond. L 1325; in AR: *dārūgha-va-umarā.*

[5] On the *nūkars* and their rights to blood-vengeance for their beg see above, p. 18.

ars later told the historian Abd al-Razzaq that he had been aware of the plot but did not venture to warn Abd al-Latif for fear of his wrath.

65. Abd al-Latif fell victim to the conspiracy on the eve, or in the early morning, of Friday, 8 May 1450 [1], as he was on his way to the mosque from the suburban garden BĀGH-I CHINĀR, situated to the south of the town [2]. Mas'ūd Kūhistānī writes that Abd al-Latif had spent the night in the BĀGH-I MAYDĀN, in the northern suburbs of Samarqand, and that he dreamt that his own head was presented to him on a platter (*tasht*) [3]. Terrified by this vision he took an augury by opening at random a copy of Nizami's poems, and his eye fell on the verse: "Kingship does not become a parricide; though he obtain it, he will not endure more than six months" [4]. The same author gives a detailed description of the spot where the murder took place. The assassins met Abd al-Latif in the narrow space between the town moat and the garden BĀGH-I NAU: the latter was separated from the town wall "only by the moat of the fortress and the road running along its bank" [5]. Mas'ūd names as the only murderer a Bābā-Husayn Bahādur [6]. This man brought Abd al-Latif down with one shot from his bow, and, while the prince's following were crowding round his body, he made his escape and safely reached Yasi (Turkestan) [7]. On the other hand, Mirkhond's report sug-

[1] AR 26 Rabī' I, 854.

[2] Mirkhond, I, 1325, C 371a. On the site of the garden see *Baḥur-nama,* f 46a; V L. Vyatkin's translation, IV, part IV, p 33. Differently in Vyatkin, *Materials,* p. 34.

[3] *Tārīkh-ı Abul-Khayr khānī,* Univ. MS., 852, ff. 407b-408a According to this source, Abd al-Latif was on his way from the *Bāgh-i Maydān* to the *Bāgh-ı Chinār,* apparently passing through the town, as he went out of the gate of Chahār-rāna (or Chahār-su) This gate was situated "somewhat to the west of Timur's mausoleum" (Vyatkin, *Materials,* pp. 18 and 82), but those who were going to the *Bāgh-ı Maydān* had also to use this gate, Babur, f. 80a.

[4] Ditto in Babur, f 50a, and Mirkhond, L 1325.

[5] V. L. Vyatkin, *Materials,* p 22.

[6] Also in AR, f. 289, and Babur, f 50b

[7] *Tārīkhi Abul-Khayr khānī,* f. 469a

gests that the murderer had no reason for seeking safety in flight for immediately upon Abd al-Latıf's death the power passed to his enemies. When Abd al-Latif fell from his horse crying: "Allah! The arrow has struck!" his retinue immediately dispersed. The conspirators fell upon the wounded man, cut off his head and later exposed it over the entrance arch of Ulugh-beg's madrasa [2].

66. The conspirators released MĪRZĀ ABDULLĀH, and set him upon the throne. One of this prince's most zealous partisans was the SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM BURHĀN AL-DĪN, son and successor of 'Iṣām al-dīn [3]. Though nothing is known about the shaykh's activities during the deposition of Ulugh-beg and Abd al-Latif's reign, it is probable that he took part in the plot. Abdullah began his rule by distributing to the troops a large sum of money from the Samarqand treasury [4]. Nothing is said as to whether the conspirators were rewarded, or the authors of the events of the preceding year punished. At all events, there were no executions, for the historians would hardly have omitted to mention them. After the stern reign of Abd al-Latif the inhabitants of Samarqand enjoyed times recalling the comparatively mild rule of Ulugh-beg, whom Abdullāh and the Shaykh al-Islām apparently strove to emulate. It must have under Abdullah that Ulugh-beg's body was moved to the Gūr-Amīr and the inscription on his tomb composed, in which Abd al-Latıf's parricide is openly condemned [5].

The change of rulers was least of all welcome in Bukhara, that centre of influential clergy. On receiving the intelligence of Abd

[1] *Allah, oq tegdi*

[2] Here probably its builder was originally buried

[3] AR, f .292a Only the *Rashaḥat,* Univ. MS., f. 172a, MS As. Mus., f. 233b, Tashk. lith., p 323, says that Burhān was the son of 'Iṣām al-dīn. The story about Nizam al-dın Khāmūsh, see above p. 116, shows that the latter died towards the end of Ulugh-beg's reign. In 1434 he was still with Ulugh-beg on his journey to Herat (AR, f. 244b).

[4] AR, f 290a. The sum of 100,000 tomans quoted by Daulatshah, p 425, is definitely exaggerated.

[5] ZVO, XXIII, 31 sq. See the text of the inscription in E Blochet, *Les inscriptions de Samarkand,* p. 14 sq. and pl. III.

al-Latif's death, the *darugha* and the cadi hastened to free ABU SA'ĪD and swear allegiance to him. Another of Abu-Sa'id's supporters was one of the most outstanding scholars of Bukhara (*iftikhār al-'ulamā*) Muhammad Ardūkujnūdī (?) [1]. Abu-Sa'id immediately marched upon Samarqand, but was defeated and took to flight across the steppes towards the North [2]. On this occasion too there is no mention of reprisals against the inhabitants of Bukhara, and the Bukharan clergy in particular, for their support of the revolt.

Abdullah had also to wage war against another enemy, Mirza 'ALĀ AL-DAULA, who had seized Shapūrqān, Balkh and Ḥiṣār from whence he intended to conquer Samarqand. Abdullah marched out against him from Shahrisabz but the armies separated without fighting 'Alā al-daula returned to Balkh, and 'Abdullāh went back to Samarqand [3], probably after having established his power in the provinces to the North of the Amu-Darya. In 1449 Ala al-daula returned to Khorasan together with SULTAN-MUHAMMAD who gave him Ghūr and the Garmsīr, i.e. the south-western part of Afghanistan. In March 1450, when war broke out afresh between Babur and Sultan-Muhammad, the latter defeated his enemy near Mashhad [4], but Ala al-daula profiting by his absence seized Herat, and from thence undertook the conquest of the North-East [5]. The fact that he withdrew without giving battle to Abdullah's army was probably due to the operations of Babur who soon after succeeded in re-establishing himself in Khorasan.

67. Meanwhile ABU-SA'ID, with a small band of followers seized Yasi (Turkestan), the northern frontier town of the Timurid kingdom in the basin of the Sir-Darya [6]. In the winter of

[1] *Tārīkhi Abul-Khayr khānī*, Univ. MS, 852, f. 448b.

[2] AR, ff. 290a and 291a.

[3] AR, f. 290a.

[4] According to Daulatshah, p 409, on Thursday, 1 Safar 854. Either the day of the week, or the day of the month is wrong. See on Ghūr and the Garmsīr p. 409 According to AR, f. 288a, Ala al-daula received the Garmsir and Zamīn-Dāvar from Muhammad-Sultan

[5] AR, f 289a

[6] On these and following events see AR, f. 291a sq

1450-1 Abdullah sent an army which besieged the town. Abu Sa'id had recourse to a ruse: he sent men in Uzbek dress to spread the rumour that the Uzbek khan Abul-Khayr was coming to relieve the town The besieged men pretended to rejoice at this news uttering loud cries. The men of Samarqand retreated so hastily that they left their baggage-train and their horses and mules behind them Finally Abdullah in person marched out against Abu-Sa'id and reached the town of Shahrukhiya. On learning this, Abu-Sa'id turned to the Uzbeks for help in full earnest. ABUL-KHAYR readily seized the opportunity to repeat his raid on Samarqand. Abu-Sa'id accompanied Abul-Khayr and his army from Yasi to Tashkent, and from thence to Khojand. At the approach of the enemy, Abdullah's army withdrew from the Sir-Darya. The Uzbeks with Abu-Sa'id crossed the Hunger steppe. The encounter with Abdullah's forces took place in June 1451 [1], near the village of Shiraz [2] on the southern border of the Bulungur steppe. The Uzbeks were completely victorious over the much more numerous army of Abdullah. During the battle the latter showed great personal courage but was overtaken during the retreat and killed. The victors entered Samarqand without meeting with any further opposition, and Abu-Sa'id mounted the throne.

68. Our sources differ in their versions of the events. In his biography, khan ABUL-KHAYR is represented as the sole hero of the expedition; Abu-Sa'id visits his *ordu,* kneels before him and thanks him for the promised help in expressions as humble [3] as those ascribed to Ulugh-beg's governor in the account of the raid of 1448; after the taking of Samarqand, Abul-Khayr's name

[1] According to AR, *l c,* on Saturday, 22 Jamādī I 855. The day of the week does not coincide with the date. In Mirkhond L 1326, C 373a, there is only "during the last ten days" of Jamādī II. In Khwandamir, Tehran ed, III, 224 Saturday, 20 Jumādī I, Ind. ed, III/3, Monday 22, which would correspond to 21 June 1451.

[2] The village of Shiraz is named in AR, f. 292a; Bulungur in *Rashahāt,* Univ. MS., below, also MS. As Mus, f. 222a, and Tashkent lith., p. 309 On the location of Bulungur (Qatwān) see Barthold, *Irrigation of Turkestan,* p. 111 sq.

[3] *T. Abul-Khayr khānī,* f. 451a.

is said to have been mentioned in the *khuṭba* and inscribed on coins [1]. On the other hand, the biographer of the holy men of Bukhara [2] does not mention the Uzbeks at all, Abu-Sa'id and his soldiers were inspired by their faith in the protection of Shaykh 'Ubaydullah, better known as KHOJA AḤRĀR, the Naqshbandi representative in Tashkent, and it was this faith that brought them victory over a much more numerous foe. Khoja Aḥrār had predicted Abu-Sa'id's conquest of Tashkent, Samarqand and Khorasan, at a time when Abu-Sa'id's very name was unknown. The latter dreamt that Khoja Ahrār was pointed out to him by Ahmad Yasavi. On arriving in Tashkent, Abu-Sa'id, who had faithfully retained the memory of the Khoja's name and appearance, made enquiries about him and learnt that he had gone to Parkent. Abu-Sa'id followed him there, and the Shaykh promised him victory provided his aims were the strengthening of the Shari'at and leniency towards his subjects. He also advised him not to attack the enemy until a flight of crows appeared in the rear of his army. When the two armies clashed, 'Abdullah's men crushed Abu-Sa'id's right wing and were preparing to fall upon the left when suddenly crows appeared behind Abu-Sa'id's army. At the sight of this omen Abu-Sa'id's soldiers took heart and in a mighty effort routed the foe All this is followed by another legend from the mouth of Hasan Bahādur, a warrior of a noble Turkestan clan, who took part in the fighting. Whereas Abu-Sa'id had only 7000 men, Abdullāh's army was much more numerous and better armed. Abu-Sa'id greatly feared the outcome of the encounter until suddenly the image of Khoja Aḥrār marching in front of the army appeared to him and to Hasan Bahādur. The latter rushed forwards crying: *Yaghi qachti!* ("the enemy has fled!") [3]. The soldiers took up this cry,

[1] According to AR, f 291b, Abu-Sa'id did not go to the *ordu* but sent an envoy to the khan to ask him for assistance

[2] *Rashahāt,* Univ MS, f. 165a sq., MS As. Mus, f 221a sq ; Tashk. lith., p. 307 sq.

[3] Cf in ZVO, XXIII, 27, the cry of Bereke before the battle with Tokhtamish

forced Abdullah's army into flight and took Samarqand on the same day.

Such stories are undoubtedly an echo of the issue of the war and Khoja Aḥrār's activity in the conquered Samarqand. There is no doubt that the leader of the expedition was neither Khoja Ahrār, nor Mirza Abu-Sa'id, but the Uzbek khan concerning whom the legend is silent. According to Abd al-Razzaq [1], the soldiers, whom the legend represents as defenders of the Shari'at, had recourse to heathen magic when crossing the Hunger steppe. In order to ease the march of the army across the waterless desert, in the hot season of the year, sorcerers had produced cold, snow and rain by means of the *yada* stone [2], which greatly confused Abdullah's soldiers, especially the Khorasanians who knew nothing of the power of this stone.

There remains, however, the point of Abu-Sa'id's interview with Khoja Aḥrār. Abd al-Razzaq, who was the contemporary of both, maintains that Abu-Sa'id saw Khoja Ahrar before the victory and that the latter inspired him with the ambition to seek the throne. For this reason, throughout his reign, Abu-Sa'id "obeyed the Khoja and would not oppose his instructions even when this was possible" [3]. As head of the Tashkent Naqshbandis Khoja Aḥrār was undoubtedly in touch with the clergy of Bukhara with whom Abu-Sa'id too must have kept up some kind of relations. This fact may explain the friendship that sprang up between these two. If Abu-Sa'id owed his very ambitions to Khoja Ahrar, then he must have met him during Ulugh-beg's lifetime, though Abd al-Razzaq refers to the time when Abu-Sa'id was wandering on the outskirts of the kingdom [4], i.e. to the years 1450-1. The total absence of any data on Abu-Sa'id before 1449 makes it impossible to solve this question.

[1] AR, f. 292a; repeated in *T. Abul-Khayr khānī*, Univ. MS., f. 452b.

[2] Reports on this stone and on rain-making are collected in Quatremère. 'Histoire des Mongols en Perse', pp. 428-435 See also *TR*, ed N. Elias, pp 32-3, from *ZN*, I, 102.

[3] AR, f 298a.

[4] *Dar atrāf-i vilāyat.*

The victors entered Samarqand without meeting with any resistance, though hardly on the day of their victory. On receiving the news of Abdullah's death, the Shaykh al-Islam Burhān al-din left Samarqand before the arrival of Abu-Sa'id; in Khorasan Babur received him with honours [1]. Khan Abul-Khayr was given Ulugh-beg's daughter in marriage and returned to his steppes with rich presents, leaving Samarqand to Abu-Sa'id [2].

The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* contains an article on Abu-Sa'id which reads like a panegyric According to its author, Abu-Sa'id grew up under Ulugh-beg's supervision and won his approval by his interest in science and culture; as a ruler, he is represented as a worthy predecessor of Babur, Akbar and Shāh-Jahān whom he emulated by the dignity of his life, the greatness of his deeds, his energy and natural gifts [3]. In point of fact, and in complete contrast to Ulugh-beg's days, the reign of Abu-Sa'id was marked by the predominance of the darvishes, who were hostile to any form of culture. Abu-Sa'id entered Samarqand as the avenger of Abd al-Latif, not Ulugh-beg Abd al-Latif's murderers were executed on the site of their crime and their bodies burnt [4]. The forty years of Ulugh-beg's reign were now succeeded by forty years of domination by KHOJA AHRĀR, a member of the Naqshbandi order [1404, d. 1490], whom Abu-Sa'id summoned from Tashkent. A zealot of the Shari'at and of sufism, Khoja Ahrar was a typical *īshān,* the first perhaps of the Turkestan sufis to

[1] AR, f. 292a

[2] According to Mirkhond, L 1326 sq, Abu-Sa'id hastened to enter the town before the Uzbeks and thus save it from pillage. He deceived the "master of ceremonies" (*shighaul*) attached to him by suggesting that the Uzbeks should water their horses, and in the meantime hurried to the gates of the town and persuaded the inhabitants to let him in On the term *shighaul* see Quatremère in *Notices et Extraits,* XIV, part I, p. 502. The khan was obliged to accept the *fait accompli* and content himself with the presents offered to him. Cf. P. Lerch, *Archeological expedition,* p 20.

[3] *EI,* under *Abu-Sa'id* [The article is by A S. Beveridge, with an addition by Barthold]

[4] AR, f. 292b.

whom the term was applied [1]. Even his panegyrists admit that he was a stranger to book-learning [2], including theology, but his righteous life in the spirit of the Shari'at and his personal charm won him the fame of a religious ascetic and miracle-worker. This brought him a stream of offerings, and he endeavoured to use his wealth and influence for the good of the people [3]. He could not understand the life and interests of the upper classes who had been represented by Ulugh-beg. Like consistent [Mediaeval] European communists, he apparently rejected all culture which was not accessible to the popular masses [4].

Abu-Sa'id's reign ushered in the final triumph of this darvishism over the opposite tendencies as represented by the hereditary SHAYK AL-ISLAMS, descendants of the author of the *Hidāya* Despite Abd al-Razzaq's assertion that Abu-Sa'id was completely subservient to Khoja Ahrar's influence [5], such an ascendancy of the latter was not achieved immediately. After the departure of the Shaykh al-Islam Burhān al-din, there still remained in Samarqand a Shaykh al-Islam of the same family, Nizām al-din Maudūd [6]. During the war between Abu-Sa'id and Babur, this divine visited Babur in Ḥiṣār and, later, took part in

[1] [The Central-Asian term *īshān* is derived from the Persian pronoun "they" used as a *pluralis majestatis*, similarly to "Sie" in German V.M.]

[2] *Rashahāt*, Univ MS, f 135b; MS. As Mus, f. 169b; Tashk. lith., p 242, on the *ishan's* student years in Samarqand "the prevalence of the esoteric preoccupation prevented the īshān from acquiring the external sciences". See also the words attributed to the *īshān* himself, *ibid.*, Univ. MS., f 132b, MS. As Mus, f 165a, Tashk lith., p. 236: "I was the *murīd* of Khoja Hasan 'Aṭṭār, and for some time carried on my attendance on him. I was engaged in esoteric tasks but could not secure a success" See above p

[3] On Khoja Ahrār see V.L Vyatkin, in *Turkestan. Vedomosti*, 1904, No. 147; N I. Veselovsky, *Khoja Ahrar's monument in Samarqand* (in Russian), *Vostochn zametki*, SPb., 1895, pp 321-335.

[4] [Barthold's work was presented to the Imperial Russian Academy on 28 January 1915].

[5] See above, p. 117.

[6] Apparently identical with Nizām al-din Fathullāh who, according to *T. Abul-Khayr khānī*, f. 459a, met Abul-Khayr and Abu-Sa'id in Samarqand [A confusion of this man with Fathullāh Tabrīzī, see below, is possible. V M.]

the conclusion of the peace treaty after Babur's unsuccessful siege of Samarqand. On both occasions [1] he was accompanied by the learned Jamāl al-din Fathullāh Tabrīzī who under Ulugh-beg had exercised the function of *ṣadr* [2]. These men were evidently more suitable for diplomatic negotiations than the stern *īshān* who, when Babur's representative had spoken of his sovereign's qualities, rudely replied that he spared Babur only out of respect for the merits of his grandfather Shahrukh [3]. It must be for the same reason, — whatever the *īshān's* biographer may say to the contrary, — that for the final conclusion of the treaty Abu-Sa'id sent to Babur's camp one of the *īshān's* disciples and not the *īshān* dimself [4]. Khoja Ahrar's original personality was bound to arouse the curiosity of the representatives of the cultured classes of Herat who were among Babur's retinue. One of the these, the historian Abd al-Razzaq, visited the town for the single purpose of meeting the *īshān* A full report of this meeting between men so widely different in outlook would have been particularly interesting, but unfortunately the historian has resumed his impressions in a single cryptic utterance: "what I found in him, I found; what I saw, I saw" [5]. He must have been disappointed in his expectations but could not speak frankly of the *īshān* who was still alive when he was composing his work.

In 1455 Abu-Sa'id had to quell a rising in Otrar which was supported by his former ally, the UZBEK khan. The rebels seem to have been connected with the clergy of Bukhara, for one of them was spared through the intercession of Abu Naṣr Pārsā [6].

[1] AR, ff. 297b and 300a

[2] *Rashahāt,* MS. As Mus, f 99a, Tashk. lith, p. 140 See above, p note .

[3] *Ibid.,* Univ. MS., f. 166b, MS. As. Mus, f 223a, Tashk lith, p. 310.

[4] The explanation of the author of the *Rashahāt* (Tashk. lith, p 311) is naturally different. According to him, Abu-Sa'id feared that the *īshān*'s companions might be attracted by the young sultan Babur, if they were to meet him, and would leave Samarqand

[5] AR, f. 300b.

[6] AR, MS As Mus 574, p. 654 sq.; 574a, f. 453b sq. The Univ. MS. has a lacuna here (before the title on f 301b). Khoja Abu-Naṣr Pārsā, son of Muhammad Pārsā, died in 865/1460-1 On him see Univ. MS, f. 39 sq., MS. As Mus., f. 455 sq.; Tashk. lith., p 64 sq

Somehow related to these facts may have been the return to Samarqand, at Abu-Sa'id's invitation, of the Shaykh al-Islam Burhān al-dīn. Both his departure from Herat, where Babur presented him with his own litter, and his arrival in Samarqand were surrounded with much pomp and circumstance. According to Abd al-Razzaq the favours conferred upon him by Abu-Sa'id were such as he could never have dreamed of receiving under the previous monarchs. Abd al-Razzaq quotes a valedictory poem by the poet 'Ārif dedicated to the Shaykh. The poet advises the Shaykh to take the poem with him as "sweets of this kind would be hard to find in Samarqand and Bukhara" [1]. It looks as though, in the eyes of the men of Herat, Samarqand had become a town as dreary and as devoid of poetry as Bukhara, and that only six years after Ulugh-beg's death.

From 1455 till the end of Abu-Sa'id's reign Samarqand was the residence of the two shaykhs · one the preserver, and the other the destroyer of the traditions of Ulugh-beg's days. Both bore the title of Shaykh al-Islam [2] and enjoyed influence at court. While struggling against the rebels of Mawarannahr, and again when establishing his power in Khorasan after Babur's death (1475), Abu-Sa'id made use of the authority of either, as circumstances required. The *ishan*'s influence was great with the people and even with the army. On the other hand, the interests of the government were more closely linked with the representative of the cultured elements, especially during risings of the popular masses against the monarch. The difference between the behaviour of the two shaykhs became particularly apparent during the long siege of Shahrukhiya seized by MUHAMMAD-JŪKĪ, son of 'Abd al-Latif [3], who had rebelled against Abu-Sa'id. The revolt broke out in 1461 [4]. At first, events in Khorasan and

[1] AR, f. 302a

[2] The full title in AR, f. 324b.

[3] [This is Muhammad Jūkī No 2, different from his namesake, son of Shahrukh. The element *Jūkī* is derived from Indian *ogi* V M]

[4] AR, f. 325a sq The *T Abul-Khayr khānī*, f. 469 sq, gives a more

Mazandaran forced Abu-Sa'id to raise the siege and to conclude with Muhammad-Jūkī "something like peace" [1]. In 1462 the siege was resumed [2] but it was not until a year later, in the autumn of 1463, that the town was forced to surrender. At the request of the besieged themselves, the *īshān* came twice from Samarqand, but his negotiations produced no result Then the Shaykh al-Islam Burhān al-din arrived and declared that the army of Samarqand would continue the siege for years and not give up until it had taken the town, even if it meant abandoning their native city and founding a new Samarqand near Shahrukhiya This speech won the sultan's approval, but the besieged again asked for the *īshān* Khoja Ahrar came for the third time and finally achieved his purpose, while making Abu-Sa'īd swear by his faith that the rebels who surrendered would be spared [3]. This promise seems to have been kept except with regard to the prince himself. In Shahrukhiya and Samarqand he was treated with respect, but in the beginning of January 1464 [4] he was transferred to Herat and shut up in the fort of Ikhtiyār al-din in a prison built in the form of a tower in the centre of the citadel. There he died in the same year [5].

The Shaykh al-Islam Burhān al-din is mentioned in the account of Abu-Sa'īd's second conquest of Khorasan in 863/1458-9. On that occasion he accompanied Abu-Sa'īd to Herat but was allowed to return to Samarqand in the same year [6] Abu-Sa'īd

detailed account of the revolt Muhammad-Jūkī received aid from Abul-Khayr and his wife, Ulugh-beg's daughter (f 470a); an Uzbek army was sent with him, under the command of Burke-Sultan Some of Ulugh-beg's troops also joined him (f 470b) Before Abu-Sa'id had joined his army it was defeated and the enemy had advanced as far as Kufīn in the neighbourhood of Karmina (f 472a).

[1] AR, f 327a *sulh-gūna.*

[2] *Ibid*, f 329b sq. From Shahrukhiya Muhammad-Juki ruled Tashkent, Akhsīkat and Sayram *(ibid*, f. 330b)

[3] *Ibid*, f 331b

[4] Abu-Sa'id returned to Herat on 22 Rabī' II 868/4 January 1464, *ibid*, f. 332a

[5] *Ibid*, f 333a.

[6] *Ibid*, f 318b.

preferred Herat to Samarqand and, after the conquest of Khorasan, made it his capital [2]. Here too his advent to power was accompanied by murders and executions surpassing in cruelty even those of Timur's days. In 1457 the elderly queen GAUHAR-SHĀD, accused of entertaining secret relations with her great-grandson Sultan-Ibrāhīm, son of 'Alā al-daula, was killed at Abu-Sa'īd's orders [2]. At the end of January 1462, the collector of taxes for the troops Khoja Mu'izz al-dīn and the *ṣarrāf* (money-changer) Shaykh Ahmad were accused of bribery and extortion. On Abu-Sa'īd's orders, Shaykh Ahmad was skinned alive at the northern gates of Herat, and Khoja Mu'izz al-din boiled in a cauldron, at the foot of the citadel [3].

Even after Abu-Sa'īd's conquest of Khorasan, Khoja Ahrār's activities were confined to Mawarannahr. In 1460 Abu-Sa'īd learnt that the amir NŪR-SA'ĪD, who lived in the mountains near the Bukharan village of Nūr, was raiding Samarqand and Bukhara. A trusted agent was sent to talk him into submission. In case of failure, the agent was to appeal to Khoja Ahrar, but the rebel refused to listen either to Abu-Sa'īd, or to Khoja Ahrār who visited him in his mountain fastness. The forces of Samarqand then hounded him out of Nūr. He fled to the steppe [4], where soon after he joined in the rising of Muhammad-Jūkī. Some time previously, Khoja Ahrar had proceeded directly from Nūr to Herat, where he remained from December 8 till December 25 of the same year [5]. At his instance Abu-Sa'īd consented to repeal the *tamgha* in Samarqand and Bukhara, and promised in future to abolish this levy and anything else prohibited in Islam, throughout his dominions.

69. Abu-Sa'īd spent the winter of 1467-8 in the neighbourhood of Marv. While there, he received the news of the death of the

[1] See the words ascribed to Abu-Sa'id (*ibid*, f 311a) on his ambition to make Herat his capital (*dār al-salṭana*).

[2] *Ibid*, f. 310b.

[3] *Ibid*, f 328b.

[4] *Ibid*, f. 324b

[5] He arrived on 23 Ṣafar (*ibid*), and left on 11 Rabī' I 865 (f. 325a).

powerful Turcoman ruler JAHĀNSHĀH [of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty], which fired him with the ambition to start on the conquest of Western Persia. He revealed his intentions to Khoja Ahrar, whose advice he was wont to follow [1], and summoned him to his camp. The Khoja came from Samarqand to Marv and was received with every mark of honour in the sultan's army. One day the sultan would be the shaykh's guest, and on the next day the sultan would entertain the shaykh. After long consultations the expedition was decided upon, and at the end of February 1468 [2] Abu Sa'īd set out from his winter-quarters on the campaign which was to prove fatal to himself and to the greater part of his army (1469).

The unfortunate outcome of the war, which had been started with Khoja Ahrar's blessing, not only did not put an end to the *ishan's* influence, but on the contrary permitted him to eliminate his rival once and for all and to become the unchallenged master of Samarqand. According to the *Rashaḥāt* [3], the news of Abu-Sa'īd's death at first caused a sudden change in the feelings of the population of Samarqand towards the Khoja. The Shaykh al-Islam BURHĀN AL-DĪN, who was constantly intriguing against him, together with several amirs headed by Abu-Sa'īd's brother-in-law Darvish-Muhammad tarkhan [4], decided not to set foot in the *ishan's* house any more, nor listen to him. Only a relative of Darvish-Muhammad tarkhan, 'Abd al-'Alī tarkhan [5] refused to join in the plot, foretelling its utter failure. At that time the *ishan* was living in Māturīd (to the north of the town). In his desire to gloat over his opponent's discomfiture, the Shaykh al-Islam set out to visit him, taking with him a guest of his to whom he said: "you are going to see what I shall do to-day to this rustic

[1] *Ibid.*, f. 338b.

[2] In the first days of Sha'bān 872 (*ibid*, f 339a).

[3] Univ. MS, f. 172 sq ; MS. As. Mus, f. 233b sq ; Tashk lith., p. 323 sq

[4] Thus according to Babur, f. 21b, who adds that he was chief beg under Sultan-Ahmad.

[5] It is curious that according to Babur this defender of the *ishan* was a "tyrant and libertine" (f. 22a), whereas Darvish-Muhammad was a "Muslim, a humane man of darvish persuasion" (f 21b).

shaykh!" In Māturīd the visitors were welcomed by the *ishan* who brought them refreshments with his own hands. During the repast a man came in to announce the sudden arrival of the 'Mirza' (i.e. SULTAN-AHMAD, son of Abu-Sa'īd) with his amirs. Fearing that his presence in the *ishan's* house night be misconstrued by the amirs as a violation of their pact, the Shaykh al-Islam hastened to make himself scarce, while the *ishan* went out to greet the Mirza. After this incident, the *ishan* was visited by the Mirza and the amirs far more often than during Abu-Sa'īd's reign, whereas the Shaykh al-Islam lost all influence and was obliged to retire to Herat where, abandoned by all, he spent the last years of his life in the madrasa of Chaqmaq [1]. The author gives some details on the last illness and death of the Shaykh, adding that on his death-bed he had asked to beg the *ishan's* forgiveness on his behalf.

Other sources contain no information about the reasons for and circumstances of the Shaykh al-Islam's departure from Samarqand. When Abd al-Razzaq was writing his work, the Shaykh al-Islam was still alive [2], but his arrival in Herat after Abu-Sa'īd's death is not mentioned by this historian. In the light of the account given in the *Rashaḥāt* only one fact can be regarded as authentic, *viz.* that the failure of Abu-Sa'īd's enterprise sponsored by the *ishan* provoked resentment against the latter in Samarqand, but that this movement subsided when Abu-Sa'īd's successor showed that the *ishan* continued to enjoy his unfailing respect and confidence.

70. MIRZA SULTAN-AHMAD, Abu-Sa'īd's eldest son, was born in the year in which his father conquered Samarqand (855/1451) [3]. Although town-bred, Sultan-Ahmad was a "simple-minded Turk" [4], who never read anything. Thus he was naturally still more exposed to the *ishan's* influence than his father. In his

[1] One of Shahrukh's amirs is mentioned, for example, in the account of the events of 833/1429-30, cf. AR, f 239a above.

[2] AR uses the formula "may God prolong the days of his life" (f. 318b) See also p. 163, note 3.

[3] Thus according to Babur, f 18a.

[4] *Ibid,* f. 18b.

private life, Sultan-Ahmad always said his prayers at the prescribed times and endeavoured to comply with all the commandments of the faith, except that about drinking wine. He was subject to spells of drunkenness and could drink for twenty or thirty days at a stretch [1] though never neglecting to perform his *namāz* even in the midst of feasting [2]. As a monarch, he did his best to rule justly in the spirit of Islam and to base all his decisions on the Shari'at. His contemporaries regarded his rule, however, as essentially that of the *ishan* [3] whom he survived only by a few years [4].

In enumerating the eminent men who were active under his uncle Sultan-Ahmad, Babur does not name any scholars or poets. Apparently there were none at that time in Samarqand. The representatives of urban culture, defeated by the "rustic shaykh", withdrew to Herat, to the brilliant court of SULTAN-HUSAYN BAYQARA (great-grandson of Omar-Shah, son of Timur) to whom the power in Khorasan had passed after Abu-Sa'īd's death [5]. Not without some exaggeration, Babur affirms that Herat had become a town unequalled in the rest of the world; its splendour grew ten or twenty-fold [6] under Sultan-Husayn; whoever was employed at his court did his best to discharge his duties to perfection [7].

71. Even in Samarqand intellectual life was not at a complete

[1] *Ibid*, f. 19a

[2] *Ibid*, f. 18b. It is well-known that the Qoran, IV, 46, forbids praying while in a state of drunkenness

[3] Babur, f 24a. The *Rashaḥāt* (Univ. MS., f. 170b, MS As Mus, f 230a, Tashk lith, p 319) contains a story about Mīrak Hasan, chief of Sultan-Ahmad's divan, who suggested to the *ishan* to abrogate even the nominal power of the Mirza. The *ishan* indignantly rejected this proposal A fortnight later Mīrak Hasan was skinned alive for some crime, on Sultan-Ahmad's orders.

[4] The *ishan* died on Saturday 29 Rabī' I 895 (*Raṣhahāt*, Univ. M S, f. 199b, which gives by mistake Rabī' II; MS As. Mus, f 286a, Tashk, lith, p. 289), i.e 20 February 1490. Sultan Ahmed died in the middle of Shawwāl 899 (Babur, f 18a), i e in July 1494.

[5] [See below the essay on Mir 'Alī Shīr].

[6] Babur, f. 188a.

[7] *Ibid.*, f. 177b

standstill. The exact sciences that Ulugh-beg had tried to foster did not find a fertile soil in Samarqand, even though Sultan-Ahmad's brother and successor SULTAN-MAHMŪD, who, unlike his brothers, despised the *ishan* [1], possessed some knowledge of mathematics. Ulugh-beg's epoch left more traces in the records of Muslim theology, as shown by the activities of the *madrasa* which he had founded [2]. Learned theology could not fail to influence even the darvishes. Already the *ishan's* son, the so-called "Great Khoja" or "Khoja of Khojas", was distinguished for his learning [3]. Whatever the drawbacks of Muslim scholastic theology might be, its struggle against the still more obscurantist Central-Asian darvishism is an indisputable service to humanity.

[1] *Ibid*, f 26a.

[2] Babur, ff 23b and 25b· *siyāq 'ilmini khub bilur-idi.*

[3] *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS, f. 179b, MS As. Mus., f. 247a, Tashk. lith., p 240. "he was adorned with (the knowledge of) various exoteric and esoteric sciences; he was a profound scholar holding the degree of perfection in speculative and traditional sciences".

APPENDIX A

[As a supplement to his book on Ulugh-beg, Prof. Barthold published a short article 'The coins of Ulugh-beg', in *Izv Ross. Ak. Istorii Materialnoy Kulturi*, II, 1922, pp. 190-2. In it, he points to the fact that as long as Shahrukh was alive, Ulugh-beg struck coins in the name of his father. During the remaining two years of Ulugh-beg's reign (1447-9), his coins present an original feature. Prof. Barthold offers a new decipherment of the legends from which he draws the conclusion that "like his grandfather Timur, but unlike his father Shahrukh, Ulugh-beg in matters of the court and the army, set store by Mongol traditions". His coins bear the *tamgha* of Timur (three circles) which is referred to by Clavijo, p. 235. Shahrukh's name is not mentioned on the coins and the inscription should be read *Tīmūr kūrkān himmatī-din Ulugh-beg kūrkān sözüm* (probably *sözümiz*. V.M.), "with protection from Timur kurkän, Ulugh-beg kürkän, my (or *our*) word". This Turkish formula imitates the Mongol *üge manu* "my word". "On no other coin struck after the death of Timur the latter's name is found, and none of the other Timurids showed such reverence for the name of the founder of the dynasty".]

APPENDIX B

CRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF ULUGH-BEG'S TIME

1394. Birth of Ulugh-beg in Sultaniya on 22 March.
1394-1405. Ulugh-beg brought up under the supervision of the queen Sarāy-Mulk khanum.
1394. May. The queens and children are summoned to Armenia and Transcaucasia.
1395. They return to Samarqand.
1396 Ulugh-beg welcomes Timur in Khuzār.
1397-8. He accompanies Timur on the Indian expedition as far as Kabul
1399. He welcomes Timur on the banks of the Amu-Darya on 30 March.
1399-1404. He accompanies Timur on his campaign in the West.
1399-1400 Winter spent in Qarabagh.
1400-1401. Winter spent in Sultaniya.
1401-1402. Winter spent in Qarabagh.
1402-1403. Winter spent in Sultaniya.
1403. Ulugh-beg welcomes Timur in Erzerum.
1403-1404 Winter spent in Qarabagh.
1404. Return to Samarqand. Ulugh-beg's wedding He takes part in the Chinese campaign. He is appointed ruler of Tashkent and Moghulistan.
1405. He arrives in Otrar on 14 January.
1405. Death of Timur on 18 February.
1405-1411. Ulugh-beg under the tutorship of amir Shāh-Malik.
1405. Residence in Bukhara and flight to Khorasan in March.
1405-6. Ulugh-beg prince of Shapūrqān and Andkhoy.
1405. Expedition beyond the Amu-Darya. Return of Ulugh-beg's wife.
1406. February. Defeat at Qarshi and flight to Khorasan.
1406-9. Ulugh-beg prince of Northern and Central Khorasan.

1407. Mazandaran added to Ulugh-beg's fief. Revolt in that province. Shahrukh's expedition and his meeting with Ulugh-beg in Quchan.

1409. Shahrukh's expedition against Samarqand and the occupation of that town (13 May). Embassy to China.

1409-1446. Ulugh-beg's reign in Mawarannahr.

1410. Struggle with Shaykh Nūr al-dīn. Defeat of Shah-Malik and Ulugh-beg at Qizil-Rabāt (20 April). Ulugh-beg at Kalif and Tirmidh. Shahrukh's expedition. Another defeat of Shah-Malik. Shahrukh's victory at Qizil-Rabāt (12 July). Occupation of Samarqand (14 July). Shahrukh's departure (23 July).

1411. Shaykh Nūr al-dīn's revolt quelled. Shahrukh's new expedition. He meets with Ulugh-beg on the Kashka-Darya (in the autumn). Shahrukh's departure with Shah-Malik.

1412. Birth of Ulugh-beg's eldest daughter (19 August, in Herat).

1413-1426. Shah-Malik, ruler of Khwarazm.

1413. Shahrukh's expedition to the West. Elephants from Samarqand.

1414. Ulugh-beg seizes Farghana. He visits Herat (November).

1415. Samarqand envoys in China.

1416. Ulugh-beg on the Sir-Darya against the Uzbeks (March-April . He annexes Kashghar. Embassy from Moghulistan.

1417. Ulugh-beg in Herat (7 May). He takes part in the reception of the Chinese ambassadors His winter camp on the Chirchik.

1418. His return to Samarqand (February). *Coup d'état* in Moghulistan and the Moghul embassy to Samarqand. Freeing of the Moghuls imprisoned in the citadel of Samarqand.

1419. Death of Ulugh-beg's wife Öge-begum. Arrival of the Uzbek prince Boraq. Chinese ambassadors in Samarqand (August). Expedition to the Sir-Darya (August-October). Disorders in Moghulistan. Envoys from Khudaydād. Return to Samarqand. Journey to Bukhara (November). The *madrasa* built by Ulugh-beg in Bukhara mentioned.

Pilgrimage of Muhammad Pārsā. Embassy to China (December).

1420. Arrival of Herat envoys to China. They are joined by Ulugh-beg's envoys (February). Expedition to the Sir-Darya against the Moghuls (June-July). Birth of Ulugh-beg's son Abdullāh (July). Arrival of Shīr-Muhammad khan. His attempt to escape (October). He leaves with Ulugh-beg's consent (December). A *madrasa* and a *khanaqa* built in Samarqand. Ulugh-beg's troops take the fortress of Rukh.

1421. Birth of Ulugh-beg's son Abd al-Rahman (13 January). News of Shir-Muhammad khan's victory in Moghulistan (May-June). Success of Ulugh-beg's troops in that country.

1421-2. Winter spent in Bukhara. Embassy from Tibet.

1422. Ulugh-beg visits Herat.

1423 News of Boraq khan's success in the Golden Horde Clash between Ulugh-beg and the Moghuls.

1424. Preparations for an expedition to Moghulistan. Winter camp on the Sir-Darya.

1425. News of Boraq-khan's fresh successes. Expedition against Moghulistan as far as Künges (February-June). Ulugh-beg in Herat (October-November).

1426. Boraq-khan's claims and his break with Ulugh-beg.

1427. Ulugh-beg's expedition to Saghanaq, and his defeat. Mawarannahr devastated by the Uzbeks. Giyāth al-din Jamshīd Kāshī finishes his mathematical treatise (2 March) and presents it to Ulugh-beg. Shahrukh's expedition and his stay in Samarqand (July-October).

1428. Abul-Khayr proclaimed khan of the Uzbeks.

1429. News of the death of Buraq khan.

1429. ? Death of Vays khan in the battle with Satuq khan.

1430. A Samarqand embassy in China.

1430-1. Raid of the Uzbeks on Khwārazm in the winter.

1432. Death of Ulugh-beg's son Abd al-Rahman (15 January). The Turcoman prince Yār-Ali sent to Samarqand (in the autumn) and imprisoned there.

1433? Massacre of Moghul chiefs in Samarqand and capture of of Yūnus khan.

1434. Ulugh-beg travels to Herat.

1434-5. Building of the main edifice of the Shāhi-zinda in the name of Abd al-Aziz.

1435? Loss of Kashghar.

1437. Circumcision of Abd al-Latif in Herat. Composition of Ulugh-beg's astronomical tables.

1438. Ulugh-beg's daughter arrives in Samarqand.

1439. She returns to Herat.

1441 Abd al-Latif arrives in Samarqand. Death of Ulugh-beg's minister Nasir al-din Khwāfī (20 July).

1442. Ulugh-beg's mother Gauhar-Shād arrives in Samarqand (January) and returns with Abd al-Latif to Herat (February).

1444. Shahrukh's illness and disputes over the succession.

1445 Letter from the Chinese Emperor to Ulugh-beg.

1446 Shahrukh's expedition to the West. The Uzbeks seize the northern march of Ulugh-beg's dominions.

1447. Death of Shahrukh (12 March). Defeat and capture of Abd al-Latif near Nishapur (29 April). Ulugh-beg's expedition and his treaty with 'Alā al-daula.

1447-8. Winter. Clash between 'Alā al-daula and Abd al-Latif.

1448. Ulugh-beg's victory over 'Alā al-daula at Tarnāb. Occupation of Herat, expedition to the West and retreat from the river Abrīsham. Revolt in the fort of Neretu and siege of Herat by the rebels. Ulugh-beg arrives in Herat. His troops plunder the neighbourhood of Herat (November). Uzbek raid into Nawarannahr. Ulugh-beg returns to Samarqand Abd al-Latif returns to Herat.

1449. Struggle for Khorasan between the Turcoman Yār-Ali, Abul-Qasim Babur and Sultan-Muhammad. Abd al-Latif revolts against Ulugh-beg. Skirmishes on the banks of the Amu-Darya, Abu-Sa'īd's revolt and Ulugh-beg's return to Samarqand. Abd al-Latif's victory over Ulugh-beg near Dimishq (September-October). Murder of Ulugh-beg (25 or 27 October). Murder of his son Abd al-Aziz.

1450. Murder of Abd al-Latif.
1451. Abdullah, son of Ibrahim, killed. Abu-Sa'id on the throne of Samarqand.
1458-9. Abu-Sa'id conquers Herat.
1461-3. Muhammad Juki's revolt.
1469. Death of Abu-Sa'id.
1490. Death of Khoja Ahrār.

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